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21 January 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1343

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POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF CADRES DISCUSSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Aug 76 pp 48-55

[Article by Vaske Cifligu: "The Ideopolitical Training of the Cadres Is a Task for the Party Organizations"]

[Text] The construction and defense of socialism, the even further advance of the revolution, are a conscious activity of the working masses led by the party. An important role in this work and active struggle is also played by the cadres in every sector. The party considers them a great treasure. The cadres play this role not only and merely by the professional aptitudes which they possess and develop without interruption, but primarily by being equipped with lofty communist revolutionary qualities, with a broad ideological horizon and a rich spiritual world. These qualities cause them to be and to remain ever revolutionary, loyal in the service of the interests of the class which has trained and qualified them, fighters for the realization of the ideals of the party and the revolution and for the construction and defense of socialism. Therefore the party has demanded and continues to demand that the cadres constantly devote special care to their Marxist-Leninist education and revolutionary annealing, while the local organizations and leading organs of the party must stimulate, assist and control them as much as possible in achieving that education and annealing.

The education of the cadres with a high degree of socialist consciousness, as in all educational work for the training of our new man, is a complex and manysided process. It requires, first of all, their being equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary practice of our party, indeed in such a way that this theory and this practice will guide them practically in every step of their activity, wherever they work and live -- all of which is achieved when that education for the all-around training of the cadres is done within the class and together with the working masses.

The party has never separated the education of the cadres from that of the working class and the working masses in general. Its chief preoccupation in this field has been and remains primarily to have the working class incessantly raise its political, ideological, educational, cultural and technical-vocational level as a very important condition for the daily

growth of its active participation in management of the country and, within this framework, to be ever an inexhaustible source of cadres well qualified for all levels of work in the party, the state and the economy, for all sectors of life; its main concern has been to educate these cadres and keep them ever pure. This matter has had and continues to have great importance in principle and in practice for the fate of the revolution and socialism. The problem posed is to avoid the creation of just an elite of "learned persons," but to elevate the level of the whole class and all the working masses; not to allow a deepening of the differences in this respect between the cadres and the masses, which would lead to putting the cadres above the masses and spoiling the proper relations between them, but on the contrary to narrow those differences more and more. Meanwhile the party has devoted and devotes special attention also to certain individual problems having to do with the education and annealing of the cadres.

As a result of the party's correct orientations and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the work of educating cadres is entering ever better into the whole system of the activity of the party organizations, the government organs and the mass organizations -- and there are unquestionable results. It is our task to deepen this work in accord with the requirements of the times, the situations and the tasks that every sector has to perform.

As the party bids us, priority must be given to ideopolitical education. Political-ideological elevation, the forming of an exact materialistic world view of the laws of the development of society and all of life, loyalty to the cause of the working class not only heighten the conscience, the zest for work, but also the abilities of the cadres in fulfilling their tasks. Here it is not a matter of academic knowledge but of full political and ideological training in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, so that every cadre may know how to orient himself correctly in every job and every situation. Of course, in laying stress on the necessity of ideopolitical education one must not underestimate educational, cultural and technical-vocational training, since the two serve one another. But one must criticize those cadres who have a tendency to attach too much importance to raising their technical-vocational level and to underestimate constant ideopolitical development, as they run the risk of falling into technocratism and, while they may pretend to be qualified, they orient themselves with difficulty in their work and life and also make mistakes in practical activity. "For us," declares Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the question is to see to it that our people, by a hard class struggle, in all the aspects of their dialectic development of construction, shall expound and comprehend politically the true socialism we are building in all fields in a revolutionary manner, for only thus will they understand the whys and wherefores of things, come out with correct analyses and conclusions, know how to separate the good from the bad, and anticipate and prepare the future." And if this is an



indispensable requirement for every worker, it stands as a priority, especially for the cadres.

In this connection, another factor deserves to be stressed. Under no circumstances must we tolerate the notion that, inasmuch as the party, the state and society have done a special job of training the cadres generally, and inasmuch as they have received in schools or in other forms a relatively larger amount of ideo-cultural knowledge than the workers or the other masses of the people, there is no longer any need to do organized work with them apart from and together with the class and the masses. This judgment of the matter is alien and has negative consequences. It is a fact that from such distorted notions there have sprung erroneous actions which have not only obstructed the class revolutionary education of the cadres but have been the cause of cultivating among some cadres the idea that they do not need to study systematically the matters connected with party policy or with their tasks, since they have allegedly studied and learned about them beforehand. This explains those cases of conceit on the part of some cadres who have tried to put themselves above the masses of the people, above the working class, cadres who consider themselves privileged, "irreplaceable," "learned," and so forth. Let us not forget that these notions are fraught with the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the cadres.

Some cadres, especially those who have a relatively long record of managing work, reason quite wrongly when they say that they "know Marxism and our revolutionary paractice" because they fight in life to apply the party's directives. This mistaken idea makes them pay little or no attention to the job of elevating themselves ideologically. Naturally every cadre, on whatever level, gains experience by striving to perform his tasks in accordance with the line and directives of the party. But that experience is not enough to correctly solve the complex problems of socialist construction which he encounters in life. The knowledge and the baggage that a man accumulates in daily life frequently are not only not enough but are not even always accurate. It is good and useful to experience things, but this does not mean that, without being enlightened by the party's ideology, one is in a position to understand and interpret them correctly, much less to play a fitting role in moving problems forward on the party's path. Therefore all cadres, however young or old, in every sector or degree of responsibility, much feel the necessity of referring continually to the theoretic materials of the Marxist-Leninist classics and the documents of our party, its orientations and directives, Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, and consult them daily. The cadres must learn Marxist-Leninist theory, our party's experience, not to satisfy their curiosity or simply to enrich and develop their intellect, but to be as useful as possible and to perform their tasks as well as possible, to be able to orient themselves in any situation, to solve correctly, quickly and politically any problem brought forth by life and daily activity, to hold a revolutionary attitude at all times and concerning everything.

By studying and learning the party's policy in its entirety the cadres find it easier to understand the ideological content of its directives and orientations, to become specialists in the party line and strive conscientiously together with the class and the masses, to apply and defend it. "The correct political and organizational line of the party," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "is everything" it is a guarantee of our success now and in the future, just as it has been in the past. This Marxist-Leninist line will be applied by people. Hence, the party educates with the utmost care both workers and cadres with and without party ties, for they have an important mission. But this mission is not exclusive for them, conceived as outside of the working class and the masses which lead. It is precisely this hegemony of the party and its class that the cadres must understand correctly from the ideological side and must strive to enforce practically in its principles. The cadres are of great value when they are educated and act on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, when they understand and properly enforce the party line."

In general, all the cadres in our country are guided by the party's policy, directives and decisions. But there are cases where some of them, due to a lack of effort to learn that policy and those directives and decisions in depth and in their entire complexity, fall into technocratism or make a formal division, saying that this or that question is only political or ideological, while another is only economic and still another only organizational. Such ideas are erroneous and very harmful both in principle and in practice. Producing bread domestically, producing machinery and spare parts, combating the blockade, preparing for defense, learning well in school, managing and organizing well the sector entrusted to one, and so on, are at once political, ideological, economic and organizational problems. Some seek to justify cases of excessive expenditures for the construction of some object or on production and elsewhere by alleging that they are required by the "technical regulations," forgetting the principle of the construction of socialism with our own forces, which requires that we work better, faster, and with good quality but also at low cost. That is what you call not knowing thoroughly and not applying in their entirety the policy, orientations and directives of the party. The party has not said that we should not bear in mind the technical regulations in construction, in the land regulating or sewer system, and so forth; but to request other funds after technical questions have arisen that had not been anticipated is not at all normal, and indicates a lack of both political and professional understanding of the task. A good specialist makes exact forecasts and calculations, studies them in the interest of the economy and the country, makes dialectic connections between things. Otherwise he causes uneasiness.

All these things show that increased care in studying Marxism-Leninism, the documents of the Labor Party of Albania and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, a thorough knowledge of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party, contribute to the political and ideological qualification of all

cadres so they may understand ever better that socialism is built and defended through a hard class struggle, that the class struggle embraces all fields of life and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized in his speech of 15 March 1973, is directed not only against the class enemy in person, as an individual, but also against those concepts and practices of ours "...which we ordinarily call 'shortcomings, errors, distortions, breaches of discipline, and so forth.' The promoters of all these things are persons who stand guard, work and fight on this soil of ours, on which socialism is being built, where the new clashes with the old, where this class struggle is in fact being waged. They manifest themselves in life and at work and must be combated in every form and by every means at all times and in every class and stratum of the population in which they manifest themselves." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," pp 281-282)

Of importance at present is the education of all cadres so that they may work and direct with the intensity required by circumstances to perform the tasks set by the draft directives of the Seventh Party Congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as well as by the conditions of the fierce double imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country. The great and unparalleled results which we have obtained must not create a feeling of self-complacency. The party severely criticizes any resting on one's laurels, the more so when the directing cadres fall into such positions, since this not only cultivates euphoria and arrogance and nurtures the petty-bourgeois psychology of contentment with the results obtained but also lowers revolutionary vigilance, with the assertion that "the enemies can't do anything to us: we are strong, and so let them squirm and rant as much as they please." The draft directives of the Seventh Party Congress on the Sixth Five Year Plan stresses that the performance of all the tasks requires the mobilization of all the country's forces and energies, with the communists in the forefront, to put into practice the line of the party, to insure a profound ideological understanding and practical application of the principle of reliance on our own forces, to work and fight as if encircled, and to carry on the class struggle consistently in accordance with the teachings of the party and under its leadership.

The daily performance of tasks in all the qualitative and quantitative indicators shows, among other things, the degree of consciousness of the workers and cadres; it shows how actively they have been educated to know and execute the tasks in accordance with the internal and external circumstances of our development; it shows how we are working to mobilize all the physical and mental forces of our people to be ready for any surprise and to counter any aggressor or coalition of aggressors. "We must all defend the economic and political stability which we have created," Comrade Enver Hoxha enjoins us, "every day and in every sector. This requires that we perform one by one, in due time and to its conclusion, all tasks of the state plan, because any failure of performance creates difficulties which burden the economy and life of the people." (Enver Hoxha, "Our

Policy Is Open: It Is a Policy of Proletarian Principles," p 10). It is precisely here, along with the party's leadership work, that the work of the cadres and their personal example play a big role in understanding and applying the party's orientations and decisions, always giving priority to the work of persuasion, clarification and education in rapport with administrative orders and measures. Without a good and thorough knowledge of the directives, orientations and decisions of the party, of their ideological and political content, one cannot strive consciously to apply and defend them, nor can one generalize concretely the experience of the masses and open up prospects for work in all the sectors.

When the party concerns itself and takes special measures to educate communists and cadres, it at the same time demands of them that they shall not keep all their knowledge, the whole baggage of learning which they possess, their maturity and experience as a mere adornment for themselves, but shall place it in the people's service, work untiringly with the masses and make the party line clear to them. The party demands of every communist and cadre that he shall be first and foremost a good propagandist and agitator for the party line and an organizer of the masses, elevate still more the fine revolutionary tradition of the cadres, the commissars and commanders of the War of National Liberation who, in order to carry out the party's directive, brought their self-denial to the point of supreme sacrifice. Particularly the communists, who form the principal basis of the stock of cadres in our country, must "become," as Comrade Enver Hoxha bids, "powerful promoters in bringing all persons to their feet, in cultivating in them revolutionary pride and ambition, confidence, and revolutionary optimism that there is no task that they cannot fulfill, no fortress that the young people of socialist Albania, educated and led by our glorious party, cannot take." (Enver Hoxha, "Letter Addressed to the Cooperativists of Kemishtaj," in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, 3 October 1975)

The political understanding and execution of the task by every cadre in the party, the government, the economy, culture, the army, and so forth, and his predisposition to serve the masses of the people with devotion, are closely related to the degree of proletarian conscience, to the annealing of his devotion, to his qualities. In his work and life the cadre must be characterized by revolutionary traits. He is required to make revolution with the others by combating the tendencies, concepts and attitudes of every worker who opposes the general interests. But to perform that task he must make revolution constantly within himself, and this demands courage and ideological training. It is a demand that must be converted into a law; otherwise, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, "the cadre becomes rusty, is seized with petty-bourgeois sclerosis having many names: conceit, arrogance, careerism; he thinks that he has become the center of attention, he is filled with sloth and indolence, illegal ambitions and desires arise in him; he seeks reprehensible positions even

outside the law, becomes formalistic with regard to the party line and ideology, and so his degeneration begins to grow."

Naturally, as a consequence of the measures constantly taken by the party, the cadres generally are making this revolution in themselves more and more every day, having always the stimulation, assistance and control by the party and the working class. But the vigilance of the party, the class and the working masses must never be missing, for the reason that alien manifestations are noted in some, even though our cadres generally are always guided by the general interest. There are cadres who have not divested themselves entirely of the tendency to place their personal interests above the general, who seek and support privileges, favoritism, unfair preferment, sickly friendships to the point where some indulge in the misuse of socialist property. Toward these alien tendencies and manifestations we must hold a hard class-revolutionary stand, and in this struggle, as the party teaches us, communists and the local organizations must be in the forefront.

An important place in the all-around training of cadres must be occupied by the persistent struggle to avoid being superficial in their activity and knowing only how to issue general orders, but without a profound dialectic analysis of matters; to be distinguished also as organizers, to be men of action, to mobilize everyone by their example to fight conscientiously to overcome difficulties and obstacles and to fulfill the tasks on time, with the proper quality and quantity. Important here is not only their individual ability to get into the inside of things but also to elicit the opinion of the workers, to listen carefully to their voices, for, however capable a cadre may be, however broad a horizon he may have about a question, he can never replace the collective thinking of the masses. Of course, there are cases where the cadre is required to decide and himself take responsibility for work, because it was for this that he was appointed a manager. But a good cadre, by eliciting the thinking of the masses, of the commissions elected or appointed in the work center or the government department, facilitates his own work and is helped to make more mature and correct decisions. The tendency of some cadres in the central administrative organs to suppress the consultative commissions within the framework of the fight against bureaucratism has nothing in common with the fight against bureaucratic manifestations; on the contrary, wittingly or unwittingly such actions prepare the ground for bureaucratism.

In these cases, as in any other important case, the working class and the workers must speak their mind firmly, especially when it is a question of defending the party's principles and norms, as well as the laws and the government's decisions and orders. The working class collaborates closely with the cadres, listens carefully to them, learns from them, but it corrects them and educates them to be like it, to acquire the traits of the class, so that, as Marx says, "workers and cadres together may bring into communism a whole species with proletarian qualities in the true sense of the word."

The party has always insisted that the cadres shall be simple, modest, love work, respect people, serve them willingly, feel satisfaction when they meet their demands in accordance with the party's orientations, and the laws of the state, and so be always servants of the people. "Being a servant of the people," Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, "means serving the people with great loyalty on the basis of our party's fighting line, being an untiring worker in applying the decisions and laws in force, under no circumstances abusing the confidence which the people have given you for the sake of personal profit and privilege, but being always upright and sincere, uncompromising with any manifestation of unfair preferment, friendship or nepotism. It also means being courteous and correct toward the people, not only during work hours but also outside of them; maintaining close ties with the masses and listening carefully to their voice, holding a principled stand toward the people's remarks and criticisms, being uncompromising with manifestations of arrogance, conceit and haughtiness. Finally, it means that one must always place above everything else the interests of the people, the interests of our socialist society, subordinate one's personal interests to them and be ready for any sacrifice for the interests of the people." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1967-1968," pp 189-190)

These teachings of the party's leader remain ever timely and help to equip the cadres with revolutionary qualities, to guard them from infection by such vices as conceit, careerism, arrogance, imperiousness, and so forth, which embody the danger of degeneration.

But in order for the cadres to remain ever revolutionary and servants of the people, working always in the interest of the masses, it is necessary that they be under double control: under control by the party and by the state from above and by the masses from below. In our country correct relations have been created and strengthened between the cadres and the masses. But the negative experience of the Soviet Union and other countries where capitalism has been restored has confirmed that there exists a danger that the cadres, under the pressure of bourgeois ideology, will gradually become isolated from the masses, place themselves outside their control, and change from servants of the people to rulers of them. Therefore, unless control over the activity of the cadres is exercised, the revolutionary spirit and traits of the cadres are lost and degenerate, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us. And in order that this may not happen, all cadres must render an effective accounting to the masses, and not just for appearance's sake but so they may fully understand that they are dependent upon them, and that it is not only a right but also a duty for the masses to know and control every step of the cadres' activity.

Like everything else, the activity of the cadres has been determined by party norms and by state regulations or laws. But it not infrequently happens that some cadres speculate on them, going so far as to fetishize the

responsibility and function assigned to them, and forget that the task entrusted to them is neither a title nor a favor to them, but an attribution for the performance of tasks, for organizing and performing work within the laws and norms of the party and state.

In this respect the party has given clear orientations and has defined concrete work norms as to how to act so that our cadres will remain ever pure and revolutionary, understand and correctly perform the functions entrusted to them. But the fact that in the practical performance of those functions some cadres show alien manifestations must make us more concerned about eliminating every bad thing as soon as it appears.

The further education and revolutionization of the cadres is a problem that is as important and difficult as it is broad and many-sided. This education and revolutionization must embrace both the appointed managing cadres working in the various sectors of life at the center and in the localities, and the cadres elected to the party and government organs and to the mass organizations at every level of authority.

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EAST GERMANY

## SECURITY FORCES TIGHTEN SCREWS ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Jan 77 pp 22-23

[Article by East Berlin SPIEGEL correspondent Ulrich Schwarz]

[Text] We conduct the fight in the open, for all the world to see.  
SED boss Erich Honecker

In the German Democratic Republic the State Security Service does not necessarily have to be involved if there is a click in the telephone. Connections are normally poor. On the other hand, the first item of knowledge GDR citizens impart to newcomers from the West is the fact that the walls of new East German apartment buildings do not have ears only because the unclad concrete is an excellent sound conductor.

The new arrival from the West, certainly the journalist, is well advised quickly to learn some rules of conduct. Any information given over the telephone, for example, is best disguised by metaphors pregnant with allusions; in restaurants it pays to keep an eye on the tables nearby; and on the job as well as at home it is better to think first and speak later--best of all to keep one's mouth shut.

Any visitor to the GDR soon finds out that the belief in the omnipresence of the quiet guardians of the republic is no mere hysteria--even if the guardians manage to keep out of sight. A button which suddenly lies on a car seat but does not belong to anybody, or a telephone call broken off in mid-word, any such event means: Little brother is watching you.

Since the day, however, when Erich Honecker got rid of Wolf Biermann, songwriter and nuisance, and deprived him of GDR citizenship, the comrades from the security service have obviously been under orders to leave their cloaks of invisibility at home, in Erich Mielke's Ministry for State Security in East Berlin's Normannenstrasse.

Example 1: On 17 November, the day after the Biermann verdict, I drove to Eisenhuettenstadt to visit the foster parents of the Gruebel children whose parents freedom was bought by the Federal Republic in 1975, after they had



made an abortive attempt to flee the GDR (SPIEGEL No 49/1976). As soon as I had passed the city signpost, a gray car started following me, a Wartburg Tourist, license plate EL 16-57, carrying two men. One skinny, wearing a pair of glasses in silvery frames giving him the look of an intellectual, the other with cheeks as plump and red as those of a Westphalian country boy. Both wore olive green plastic coats. The car kept close on my tail.

While I was looking for the best way to get to the apartment of the Klewins on Chopin Ring, my companions obviously did not know where I was going. At the Klewin's nobody was home. At 14.00 hours, my second attempt, the plastic coats were waiting for me. At that time, according to a neighbor, Mrs. Klewin gets home from work, and the children return from the school nearby.

That day, for reasons unknown to the neighbor, nobody turned up. The Wartburg drivers froze with me in front of the house. I then went to the supermarket next door to get warm. My two shadows followed and, together, we contemplated the stocks of flour, salt and soap on the shelves.

Outside again, a friend greeted red cheeks: "Wouldn't I just love to have your job, hanging around all day long." A warning glance, and he made off quickly.

Mr Klewin was not expected home until 17.00 hours. In the meantime I went window shopping in the inner city--all the while keeping a count of my companions. At times there were six of them.

At 17.00 the escort suddenly disappeared. Mr Klewin was home, but before I could tell him what I wanted, he brushed me off: "No comment."

Half an hour later, going back, the Wartburg stood, without lights, at the roadside by the exit from the city. Two men sat inside. The car did not follow me.

The staff in the department for journalistic relations in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs kept their faces devoid of any expression when I mentioned the tender care lately lavished on me by the Ministry for State Security. They hinted delicately that I must be suffering from hallucinations.

Example 2: A few days after my trip to Eisenhuettenstadt I received the visit of Robert Havemann who came to see me in East Berlin's SPIEGEL office on Storkower Strasse. A guard of People's Police and security personnel had barred the Gruenheide home of the regime's critic for days past. Havemann himself, however, was still permitted to move around--although under the constant supervision of the brigades from Erich Mielke's Stasi [slang term for State Security] center.

The sheer manpower expended by Mielke was reminiscent of nothing so much as a state visit. Only the occasion was rather less solemn. Havemann's Wartburg was preceded by a small Trabant acting as outrider; it was followed by a

dark Volga with a long turned-back antenna, the trademark of "the firm" (GDR slang). The final cars in the motorcade: One Skoda, a Russian Lada, a second Trabant, the driver of which, oddly enough in late November, wore a gym suit.

The motorcade distributed itself among the sidestreets. Patrolling in front of the office windows were unobtrusive pedestrians camouflaged by berets and, certainly distinctive on such a gray day in late fall, wearing sun glasses. When Havemann left, they jumped back in their cars, and the motorcade reformed before the dangerous professor had gotten to the main road.

When I arrived at the SPIEGEL office the next morning, neighbors immediately told me: "Today is Volga day." The editorial office was under observation for at least a week. Observers and cars changed often, sometimes every half hour.

Example 3: A few days later a telephone call to the SPIEGEL office announced another visit by Havemann. I waited in vain. Havemann sounded incredulous the next day: He had called back to say that he was compelled to put off his visit.

He remembered that a woman had answered the telephone with: "SPIEGEL office" and, when he asked to speak to Mr Schwarz, informed him that Mr Schwarz was out for lunch. The telephonist had promised, however, to pass on the message about the new date of his visit.

At the time of this dialog I was in my office. Neither my secretary nor I received Havemann's call.

I protested "such methods" in writing to Wolfgang Meyer, head of the section press and information in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs. A week later I received a verbal reply. "We reject the form and substance of your letter. This matter has nothing to do with the GDR, we consider it immaterial."

Of course the ministry had no intention to nail itself in a written communication. "That," my interlocutor said briefly, "is not customary."

Exemple 4: The "firm" has exercised round-the-clock surveillance of the Biermann home in East Berlin's Chausseestrasse 131 ever since the expatriation of the poet-dissident. Young men in dark parkas are standing in front of the apartment building, the entrance to the neighboring building and the parking lot across the street.

On the evening of 14 December I met with Sybille Havemann, daughter of the professor, in the courtyard of Chausseestrasse 131. Our talk was rudely interrupted before it had properly begun. A man in a parka materialized from the semidarkness, small, slight, about 35. He flashed a badge and barked at us: "Lt Welz from the People's Police. You know very well what this is all about, please stop it."

I asked him to show me his badge again. The name Welz was clearly visible, but I could not decipher anything else, the lieutenant was too quick for me.

We asked for information, said we had no idea what he was driving at. After some time the morose security comrade finally opened up: The foreign ministry, he said, had expressly forbidden me any contact with the Havemann family. "And you," Welz said to Sybille Havemann, "should damn well know your duty."

I tried in vain to persuade the lieutenant of his error. West German correspondents had merely been told by the foreign ministry that the GDR would consider any further contact with Robert Havemann interference in internal GDR affairs. Not a word had been said about Havemann's family. Sybille Havemann added that nobody had told her not to talk to West Germans.

Our noisy protest brought another two, until then invisible civilians who adamantly refused to show any identification. One, in a gray leather jacket and fur cap, grabbed my companion and made to drag her into the house. When I caught him by the arm, he spit at me: "Don't you touch me!"

"Touching," a friend told me later, "is the worst that can happen to them."

Finally a genuine uniformed People's Police officer appeared on the scene and asked for my passport, politely and with some embarrassment. He looked at it briefly and said pleasantly: "In perfect order, Mr Schwarz."

Yet the three civilians showed no inclination to leave. Sybille Havemann and I climbed the stairs to the Biermann apartment. The three followed at a distance of four steps, but they did stop at the apartment door. Later they attended us below, at the house entrance two more comrades keeping them company, and another one yet was sitting at the wheel of a Lada 1200 parked at the curb, license plate IX 27-57.

It is not very hard to guess what the SED's security and damarcation head hopes to achieve by such evidence of attention to the officially admitted observers from the Federal Republic: They are to be intimidated, their contacts with GDR citizens to dry up. In recent months the senior comrades have become excessively fearful by being compelled to watch, powerless, how the rebellion of the East German intelligentsia was broadcast on Western wavelengths, reaching directly and uncontrollably into millions of East German living rooms.

Only fear of a better informed public can explain why the party leadership has lately instructed all officials in the party and state apparatus from now on to avoid any contacts with foreign journalists.

One SED man delivered himself of a prophecy: "You Western journalists will have it real hard from now on."

## HUNGARY

### DEPUTY STATE SECRETARY REVIEWS EVENTS OF 1976

Budapest BRITISH EMBASSY PRESS SURVEY in English No 301, 29 Dec 76 pp 2-8

[Article by Pal Racz, deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, originally published in MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Dec 76 p 2: "Hungarian Foreign Policy--1976"]

[Text] The international events of great consequence of the year 1976, which is now drawing to its end, have confirmed, although often contradictorily, the widely accepted point that the main trend of the development of the world situation is international political detente. On the basis of an analysis of those events the November Statement of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Body stressed rightly that "the process of the easing of international tension has begun and the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems has been gaining strength."

The consistently implemented foreign policy of the community of socialist countries has played a decisive role in the important and fundamental changes extending to the whole system of international relations. Setting out from its own position, from the program of socialist construction and, consistently with those, from the wider interests of the socialist community, on the basis of the resolutions of the 11th Congress of MSZMP, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic contributes actively toward the realization of common foreign political aims. "Our international activity," Janos Kadar pointed out, "is consistent with the socialist aspirations of our people and with our national interests. Its main purpose is to ensure for our people the external conditions of socialist building work and to consolidate as far as it lies within our power the positions of social progress, national independence and peace all over the world."

Also in 1976 the increasing strength of the socialist community and the socialist world system, their strengthening unity and expanding influence, have had a decisive effect on world events, on the process of detente. The meetings and talks between leaders of socialist countries have continued to strengthen and improve the cooperation of our countries in all fields of life. Janos Kadar's visit and friendly meeting with L. I. Brezhnev

has meant a qualitative development in our fraternal cooperation. The November session of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Body once again put forward world political initiatives of great consequence and it has helped by its proposals the forces standing up for the stabilization of international security. By the establishment of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the United Secretariate it has effectively promoted the improvement of the cooperation of the socialist community, the further stimulation of its international political activity and the increase of its efficiency.

In 1976 also Hungarian foreign policy has been characterized by attaching the greatest political importance to the extensive development of the profound cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the countries of the socialist community, to the strengthening of our internationalist cooperation and alliance. It has initiated and supported a more active role of the Warsaw Pact in international politics and the development of its system of political institutions. As far as socialist economic integration is concerned, our country is emphatically interested in the implementation of the complex program and within CEMA Hungary seeks actively the accomplishment of the tasks that are connected with it. A firm basis for developing much more intensively than so far our economic and technical-scientific contacts with the developing world and the developed capitalist countries can be provided only by socialist economic cooperation.

The Hungarian Government is firmly resolved to strengthen further the cooperation and friendship with all socialist countries. Also in 1976 we have been led by this aspiration because we are convinced that the deepening of our relations and taking advantage of the opportunities offered by our cooperation are consistent with the interests of every socialist country.

The worldwide positions of socialism have been strengthened to a considerable measure by the unification of Vietnam victorious over imperialist aggression, by the coming into existence of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic. The Hungarian People's Republic regards it as an internationalist duty to help socialist building and the restoration of war damages in Vietnam.

In 1976 the Laotian People's Democratic Republic won its independence and freedom and set out to lay the foundations of a socialist society. In the wake of the visit to Hungary of the Laotian Party and Government Delegation led by Kaysone Phomvihane a favorable development of our bilateral relations has begun.

With the internationalist assistance of the socialist countries and supported by the progressive forces of the world Angola and Mozambique have achieved full independence and wish to follow a socialist-oriented course. Also this year Hungarian foreign policy has made efforts to strengthen our country's relations with the socialist-oriented and the progressive developing countries: in a number of countries new Hungarian diplomatic missions have started operating.

In 1976 the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic has paid great attention also to the promotion with her modest means and possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle of the non-aligned and developing countries and their fight to bring about equitable international economic relations. We have considerably expanded our relations with the developing countries by taking advantage of existing opportunities and by making new agreements. Our cooperation with the non-aligned countries has become closer. We have also tried to promote the elimination of the existing centers of crises in the areas of the developing world.

The other fundamental feature of the international events of the year past has been that a beginning has been made with translating into practice the recommendations of the Final Document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The progress made in the implementation has shown the viability of the principles adopted in Helsinki. Summing up the results to date we have every reason to claim that 1976 has been fundamentally successful also from this point of view. The socialist countries are making serious efforts unilaterally, bilaterally and multilaterally for the realization of the provisions of the Final Document.

It would not serve, however, the cause of detente if we made no mention of the negative phenomena. Leading circles in certain capitalist countries have often tried to interpret the Final Document so as to place arbitrarily in the foreground some of its details and have made attempts at gaining one-sided advantage in the course of realization. In this they have been assisted by the expressly anti-detente forces which, seeing the successes of the detente policy, have particularly in recent times conducted a propaganda campaign and ideological diversion reminiscent of the years of the cold war.

The measures taken so far to implement the recommendations of the Final Document--from the increase in kind and degree of the wide-ranging political, economic, social and cultural contacts to tourism--have directly or indirectly affected the lives of the citizens of every country. A good example of the expansion of such relations is the fact that this year tourist traffic in Hungary has broken all records: 10 million foreign tourists have visited Hungary and 3 million Hungarians have traveled abroad.

Together with the socialist countries we persist in stressing that cooperation cannot develop successfully and cannot be widely expanded unless both sides want it sincerely and unless for this end they observe in all areas of inter-state relations the jointly framed 10 basic principles of the policy of peaceful co-existence as laid down in the Final Document. We consider this the most effective and most expedient procedure for building mutual confidence in the contacts and cooperation between countries with opposed social systems.

The attempts at disregarding these principles, at gaining one-sided advantage and at accusing and attacking the socialist countries are inconsistent

both with the spirit of detente and with realities. Positions like the response of the most recent Foreign Ministers' conference of NATO are inconsistent with the logic of detente. The official communique of the NATO conference has described as "inacceptable" the initiatives of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Pact which suggested that the signatory countries to the Final Document should undertake an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other and to suspend the validity of the provisions both in the Warsaw Pact and in the North Atlantic Treaty which permit the joining of new member states. The negative position of NATO--which has shocked a considerable part even of Western public opinion--cannot be supported by serious arguments for these proposals do not alter the power relations as they have developed but would perceptibly reduce the danger of war and the level of confrontation and would greatly relieve both the peoples and the governments. There can be no doubt that all the social forces which feel responsible for the further fate of detente will grow more and more conscious of this.

Despite the negative response, together with the socialist countries we cannot drop these proposals for history has proved that in matters of such consequence efforts of long years have led the circles in capitalist countries who pursue realistic policies to the recognition of the fact that such proposals serve common interests.

As far as the Hungarian People's Republic is concerned the Final Document of Helsinki is in the center of our foreign policy. At his press conference in Vienna Janos Kadar pointed out that in certain respects even before Helsinki we had conducted our foreign policy in the spirit of Helsinki. In 1976 we have presented to a number of capitalist countries in writing our proposals relating to the implementation of the recommendations of the Final Document in our bilateral relations. In general our initiative was well received and we hope that our Western partners will be ready also for constructive practical measures. We think that our initiatives have helped the successful preparation of the Belgrade Meeting which is designed to review the realization of the Final Document and to promote its more effective implementation. We support all initiatives which serve the same purpose. Among those we attach particular importance to the convention of all-European congresses on energy economy, environmental protection and communications as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Like other socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic regards as extremely important the development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation free of discriminations between countries with different social systems. It is our irreversible opinion that the policy of detente makes the demand on capitalist countries to abandon their discriminative economic and trade measures taken against the socialist countries and to change over to an economic cooperation of equality including the general and unconditional assertion of the most favored nation principle. We consider it regrettable that the Western reply to the CEMA initiative avoids the proposal for real economic cooperation between CEMA and the European

Economic Community although this would be consistent with common interests and would contribute toward the stabilization of the material foundations of detente.

It is our definite conviction that in the present international situation the supplementing of political detente with military detente is indispensable and essential. A good foundation for this has been provided by the latest disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, the topicality of which is shown by the favorable international reception of the concrete proposals on the elimination of force from international relations or on the convention of a world conference on disarmament. The Hungarian People's Republic is active in the UN, in the Geneva Disarmament Commission and on other disarmament forums to promote a military detente. We are taking part in the Vienna conference on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and we consistently adhere to the assertion of the principle of equal security. We think that the recognition of this principle is an essential requirement at all talks on disarmament. The representatives of the Hungarian Government have worked on all international forums in the spirit of detente.

Also by the development of bilateral relations the Hungarian People's Republic has made efforts to stabilize the results of international detente, and European detente as a part of it, and to lay the foundations for its further development. Our international negotiations on top level have been acknowledged as contributions to the strengthening of the spirit and practice of detente. Janos Kadar's visit to Austria in December has given the development of Hungarian-Austrian relations a great impetus and at the same time--and this claim of ours is borne out by the Austrian and on the whole by the international reaction--it was a good practical example for the fruitful cooperation of countries with different social systems on the basis of the principles accepted in Helsinki.

Pal Losonczi's visits to Peru, Venezuela, Panama and India and Gyorgy Lazar's talks in Austria, France, Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania have successfully served the common interests of our countries. The visits to Hungary of Finnish President Kekkonen and of other high-ranking Western politicians were similarly successful. This year Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja visited eight countries and we received the foreign ministers of 13 countries; these talks have played an important role in the expansion of our inter-state relations. The talks and work visits have made a positive contribution to the international process, in which every people and every country is equally interested. In every case the discussion of the questions of world politics and of bilateral cooperation has greatly promoted political and economic cooperation between our countries and the cause of cultural exchanges, tourism and learning more and with greater accuracy about each other, thus serving also directly the immediate and long-term interests of the citizens of our countries. The increase of tourism, for instance, has made the representing and safeguarding abroad of the interests of our citizens an important task in the wide-ranging international



activity of our country and particularly in the work of the network of Hungarian diplomatic missions.

Summing up the year of 1976 we can consider it successful from the point of view of international detente. This claim is not weakened even by the fact that because of the renewed activity of anti-detente forces and the wavering of some Western political factors the opportunities for developing inter-state relations could not be fully exploited, in fact in some cases there have been even negative developments. The Hungarian People's Republic looks at international detente and the policy of peaceful coexistence as having for their principal object the preservation of world peace, the prevention of a universal nuclear conflagration and the expansion of mutually advantageous many-sided cooperation in all areas of human activity. For us the most important element of this policy is the uninterrupted building of socialism and the strengthening of the community of socialist countries. Our country is an active participant in this force which shapes world history. Our coordinated policy has favorably influenced the development of the world situation and we have good reason to expect that it will yield new results for socialism, for social progress and for the forces of peace which are consistent with the fundamental interests of the whole of humanity.

Aware of this Hungarian foreign policy is optimistic about the future. Also in 1977 we shall seek--relying on the results of socialist building--to make an effective contribution to the stabilization all over the world of the positive processes that have unfolded and to serve successfully our internationalist and national interests.

CSO: 2020

## HUNGARY

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONALISM

Budapest BRITISH EMBASSY PRESS SUMMARY in English No 302, 30 Dec 76 pp 3-7

[Article by Dr Janos Berecz, chief of Foreign Affairs Department of MSZMP Central Committee, originally published in NEPSZAVA 24 Dec 76 p 5: "The Internationalist Content of Our Patriotism"]

[Text] Every people clings to its values. Our people is bound by its values to the Carpathian Basin, to the land between the Rivers Duna and Tisza, where it has lived and shaped its history for more than a thousand years. It is bound to this area by Hungarian statehood and culture and by the emergence of the Hungarian nation and national consciousness.

Attachment to the homeland and the feeling of oneness with it have come long before the nation in the modern sense of the word has come into existence. This feeling has been aroused and fortified by the hard work of the weekdays and by the pleasure of the holidays, by suffering together the adversity of nature and the inequity of society, by the necessary rallying together and resistance against foreign conquerors. This kind of patriotism has been the patriotism of the peasants and later of the industrial workers who, although regarded as the outcasts of history, have in fact made history and have been the vehicles of the people's culture; the patriotism of the toiling masses who have always been the builders, preservers and defenders of the country. It is they whom the ruling circles calling themselves the "historical class" have not regarded as a part of the nation and whom they have branded as outcasts every time they stood up for their rights. This kind of experience provided the basis of the statement in the Communist Manifesto that "workers have no homeland." Marx and Engels have also set the task, what has to be done for the homeland, when they have made it the most important requirement that "the proletariat has to rise to the status of a national class" and "has to organize itself into a nation."

#### The Mission of the Working Class

Right from its birth the Hungarian working class has fulfilled its historical mission, it has not struggled for its prosperity alone but for that

of the whole nation, for a free homeland. In the bitter class struggle that has developed from the last decades of the 19th century they have stood up for the democratic rights of every citizen, for a stable livelihood, for the equality of the nationalities and for building friendly relations with other peoples. The Hungarian workers disavowed World War I which was started for imperialist ends and the burdens and sacrifices of which they had to bear. But about a hundred thousand Hungarian prisoners of war, workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia, voluntarily took up arms in the defense of Soviet Russia, showing thereby their profound internationalism which was indissolubly linked with the hope of the transformation of the Hungarian homeland as well. The experience of the first Hungarian workers' state, of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, has shown that the classes calling themselves "national" have given up even the appearance of "their patriotism," the ideological cornerstone of their existence when their privileges were at stake; they enlisted the help of international reaction to defeat the true Hungarian cause, to restore their power. The Red Army of the workers and peasants, on the other hand, fought heroically to safeguard the rights of all exploited workers and suppressed nationalities, to defend the homeland of the people against the interventionist troops of international imperialism. At the same time the existence and glorious firm resistance of the Hungarian Soviet Republic have proved convincingly that socialism is a natural sequence to Hungarian social development, a direct continuation of the country's national traditions and the culmination of the political struggles of past centuries.

After the dark quarter of a century of Horthy Fascism, which had emaciated the nation, the sons of the Soviet Union brought freedom to the Hungarian people whereby the road was opened for bringing about the people's power, the realization of a socialist transformation. We have been following that road for about three decades.

In building socialism the working class has become the leading national class. The first ruling class in the history of our nation whose aspirations coincide with the interests of all working strata of society. That is why the working class and its allies could become the depositaries of the idea of patriotism and have raised it to a higher level. Socialist patriotism is characterized by being one with the duties, results, cares and prospects of the great work of strengthening the nation and building the country, by a deliberate assumption of responsibilities.

The realization of socialist patriotism does not depend on concrete national conditions alone. It exists under given international conditions. The general tendency of international life in our era is the strengthening of national independence together with the nations coming closer to each other. The two laws of society are in evidence simultaneously and in interplay with each other. The world is becoming international while the role of national factors is also increasing.

The internationalization of the world, of human history, as a social process springs from, and is the consequence of, the tendencies of the development of human society, the nature of material production, the social struggle of progressive forces and the changes of science and technology. Today this process is accelerating and deepening and is a concomitant also of the worldwide increase of the influence of socialism.

### Three Revolutionary Forces

One general fact which helps this is the fact that the conditions of the development of the forces of production transcend the opportunities offered by the national framework. The development of national economies cannot be divorced from the world economy, from the international division of labor. The scientific-technological revolution has further stimulated the internationalization of production. This objective process is expressed, on the one hand, by the capitalist way of integration of capitalist countries which subjects the national economies of the individual countries practically to the big international monopolies; the integration of socialist countries, on the other hand, is the coordination for mutual interests of the independent national economies of sovereign countries, their conscious and planned division of labor.

The other general fact is that the world "has contracted." Communication has speeded up, distances have become shorter and the speed of communication of information permits the public opinion in every country to form quickly an opinion on world affairs and to influence them by taking a stand. The role of international class struggle, and its effect on the fates of individual nations, has increased. More and more issues of the existence of humanity are decided in the worldwide class struggle.

It is another historical fact that internationalism and solidarity, as fundamental features of general validity of the workers' movement, have become a force shaping world politics. The greatest effect on development in our era has been made by the joining of forces by the three main revolutionary forces, the socialist world system, the international revolutionary workers' movement and the national liberation movement, in the struggle against imperialism. The cohesive principle and force of the community of socialist countries is internationalist friendship and cooperation, the basis of the unity of the revolutionary workers' movement is proletarian internationalism and the common principle of the three main revolutionary forces is internationalist solidarity.

The world becoming international, as a universal process, has produced different effects on the countries with different social systems. Monoplist capital wielding enormous material forces pushes into the background and erodes the characteristic features of nations. International monopolies assert the narrowest interests of one part of bourgeoisie as opposed to the general interests of nations, in fact at the expense of such interests.

Socialism, the working class as the vehicle of socialist patriotism, has recognized the importance of the national factor. The building of socialism, the bringing about of a developed socialist society, help making the individual nations prosperous. The social liberation of the workers has put an end to the subjection of peoples in socialist countries. The planned development of the people's economy places the working people under better, healthier and more civilized living conditions making thereby the nation a more viable, better developed and united community.

In our era it is the internationalist forces fighting for socialism, the individual national forces of the international communist movement, which recognize with a deep sense of responsibility the important role of the national factor. The social programs of individual communist parties map out the road to prosperity for the sound forces in the nation and make possible the rise of the working people in the given countries. These programs can be realized only in harmony with the idea of internationalism. The unity of the two ideas--making the nation prosperous and the international joining of forces--are well illustrated by the development and friendly pooling of forces of the socialist countries which was described thus by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "With the flourishing of each socialist nation, with the strengthening of the sovereignty of socialist states, their relations are growing closer and closer. There are more and more common elements in their policies, economies and social lives, the differences of levels of development are gradually evened out."

The recognition as one law of this dual tendency--the socialist prosperity of the nation and the strengthening of internationalism--is a characteristic feature of the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Accordingly, we consider it our first and most important duty to build socialist society in our own country so as to enrich the life of our people in every respect and all the time. It is by this in the first place that we serve also the international objectives of the workers' movement for a developing and ever stronger Hungarian People's Republic as a firm base of the peace and friendship of nations, of human progress and of socialism. Our Party leads the building of socialist Hungary so that it is in harmony with the interests of the international workers' movement. It is part of our policy to support by all possible means our friends and allies in their struggle for the achievement of our common international goals.

#### National Independence--Workers' Internationalism

Workers' internationalism forms an inseparable and integral part of socialist patriotism. Our patriotism cannot be ungenerous and inward looking. Our rich historical experiences fully prove the rightness of our ideals concerning the friendly coexistence of different peoples and their bringing them nearer to each other. Our patriotism does not want to exclude others from the common cause, but we do not want to isolate ourselves either. The lasting and dominant elements of our national traditions and

culture, coming to fullness in socialism, are those which do not separate us from other peoples but unite us with them.

National independence and the coming of nations nearer to each other are general tendencies on which our policy is consciously based. Socialist patriotism is the foundation on which workers' internationalism, which is integral with it, is built. We convinced ourselves of the fact that the basic condition of the protection and the assertion of our national interests is the fostering of our fraternal relations with the countries of the socialist community and first of all with the Soviet Union, the first and strongest power, which is the richest in experiences. These relations already cover all the spheres of our political, ideological and economic life. The nature and the aims of the cooperation of the socialist countries is determined first of all by their ideological, political community. Thus qualitatively new conditions are created in the field of the socialist countries' economic cooperation as well. Hungary defends her independence and socialist achievements by relying on the Warsaw Pact, the military organization of the socialist community.

In socialism the working class is the leading class of the nation, and together with its allies it represents the most general and long-term interests of the society. Workers' internationalism is an essential element of the present content of patriotism.

It was our party's position developed on the basis of experiences gained over several decades, and proved right by the practice of everyday life, that Comrade Janos Kadar put into words at the conference of the European communist and workers' parties held in 1976. "In our opinion the idea of proletarian internationalism involves the harmony of national and international interests, because the results of the individual parties strengthen our international movement, and the strengthening of the international communist movement helps the individual parties. Proletarian internationalism is mutual solidarity and support, comradesly cooperation which presupposes the independence and the equal rights of the individual parties, non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

We consider it a natural requirement that the undertaking of internationalist obligations and the independence of the parties cannot be contrasted with each other, and their harmony can be ensured in the policy of the communist and workers' parties.

CSO: 2020

NATIONAL, WORLD ECONOMIC RELATIONS SURVEYED

Budapest BRITISH EMBASSY PRESS SURVEY in English No 300, 28 Dec 76 pp 5-9

[Article by Dr Gyula Szeker originally published in NEPSZABADSAG 25 Dec 76 p 7: "Hungarian Economy--World Economy"]

[Text] The environment of world economy has an increasing effect on the economic life of every country. These effects are much varied. The planned economic development of socialist countries is free of crises and its rate is faster even today than that of the development of other parts of world economy. The intensive stage of economic development is now unfolding in CEMA countries; industry and agriculture are growing more and more modern. Socialist international division of labor has been enriched by new features above all by the fact that in the key areas of economy--energy and raw material production, agriculture, the most important branches of the engineering industry, the production of consumer's commodities and transport--common tasks will be laid down in cooperation programs for 10 to 15 years. The steadily developing socialist community constitutes the fundamental international economic environment of our country which gives our economy a high degree of security. At the same time capitalist countries have been undergoing the deepest crisis of the post-World War II era. The growth of production has slowed down--at places it has stagnated or declined--the depreciation of money has increased, millions are unemployed. The capitalist world is characterized by uneven development and a fear of tomorrow.

Hungarian economy, just as the other socialist countries, has lively connections also with the capitalist world economy. However, our planned economy and cooperation were able to prevent the crisis taking place in the capitalist world from spreading to the socialist countries but could not entirely neutralize its effect.

The Hungarian economy is of relatively small dimensions and industry is based mainly on the processing of raw materials of foreign origin. The openness of the Hungarian economy makes it as regards the rate and direction of its internal development greatly exposed to processes taking place in the world economy. Thus in our economic building work we have to lay great stress on making our world economic contacts serve our development

as effectively as possible. However, due also to the changes in world economy in recent years, this requirement sets ever greater and ever more urgent tasks for the economy.

Most of the price changes in world economy promise to be lasting even though we may reckon with lesser or greater modifications in the course of time. The world market price changes which promise to be lasting have to be gradually introduced also in the trade between socialist countries; otherwise we would allow obsolete value relations to be preserved which would impede the modernization of our production structure.

These changes have found the Hungarian people's economy in a stage of development when--relying on the results of the considerable efforts made in previous decades--the intensive development of economy, based above all on the rise of the productivity of work, has already started.

The process, however, could not yet unfold along the whole line. The bulk of Hungarian imports is made up of power media and raw materials, basic materials, component parts, semi-finished products and modern manufacturing equipment, that is commodities the world price of which has risen most steeply in recent years. The greatest part of the exports on the other hand consists for the time being of such products of the processing industry--machines, equipment and industrial consumer's commodities--the price of which has risen to a far smaller extent than that of the products which account for the bulk of our imports. The share in our exports of modern machines, equipment and chemicals that are rated highly on the world market is increasing but is still small. Higher prices could be achieved in the first place by exporting staple foodstuffs but that has been far from sufficient to compensate for the losses in import prices. Today, in order to import the same quantity of goods, due to the price changes, we have to export considerably more goods.

#### Greater Efficiency

The response of the Hungarian people's economy to those unfavorable changes cannot be seclusion, a narrowing of our world economic relations. On the contrary, a further expansion of our external economic relations is needed for our further development. At the same time we cannot resign ourselves to the fact either that the greater rise of import prices than that of export ones should consume permanently a part of the surplus national income produced. Thus adaptation to the changed conditions of world economy has to be done so as not to impede the implementation of our plans for developing the economy and raising the standard of living.

However, the changes that have taken place in world economy, and their influence on the economic life of our country, make it necessary to draw a number of conclusions. What for instance we have to reckon with--and our plans allow for it--is that due to price losses on the world market the rate of increase of the means that can be allocated for investments



will be slower. This, however, need not necessarily involve a slowing down of the increase of production. Experience has shown that in the field of increasing the efficiency of investment activities there are large as yet untapped resources. Such are, for instance, reducing the number of unfinished investment projects and cutting down the time of construction and assembly works by more careful and provident preparation, by better work organization and by a more efficient concentration of forces. This way capacities can be expanded by spending smaller sums on investments.

The increased cost of imports makes it imperative to focus the attention of management on reasonable economy; using economically production capacities, manpower and domestic and imported materials alike. This does not mean, of course, that imports have to be replaced by hook or by crook by domestic products but they have to be so replaced only if it is economical in view of the new price relations. Another way of economizing imported materials is changing the structure of production so as to concentrate more and more on products that can be manufactured with a smaller specific use of materials.

In order to compensate for price losses we have to pay greater attention to achieve the highest possible sales receipts on external markets for our exported products and to purchase the goods we import from the most favorable sources and from areas where we can pay for them by exporting our most economically manufactured domestic products. The improvement of the day to day "price work" of foreign trade organizations and the rational selection of areas to import to and export from form another reserve on which we shall have draw more than we have done so far.

The radical solution of the problems connected with the changes that have taken place in world economy, however, can be expected in the final analysis from the development of domestic forces of production planned rationally and realized consistently and at an accelerated rate, from technical development, from the improvement of the structure of production and from the improvement of quality. As soon as possible we shall have to resolve the contradiction which is due to the present situation of the Hungarian people's economy, viz. that the valuation of our exports on the world market lags behind that of our imports. Those raw material importing developed industrial countries--e.g. the FRG, Japan and Switzerland--which can put on the international markets particularly modern products, requiring high trade skills, above all products of the engineering and chemical industries, have in one and half to two years contrived to compensate for most of their losses due to the rise of the prices of electric power and raw materials. These countries, however, have not only large highly trained labor force and industrial research and development capacities but they are also well-provided with capital. In Hungary there are no investment and credit facilities of comparable size. All the more important is the rational, economical and strongly concentrated use of our existing intellectual forces and investment resources so as to achieve in the areas best

suited to the Hungarian conditions a rapid technical development both as regards manufacturing processes and products.

In view of the fact that the valuation of work producing raw materials has greatly risen on the world market we have to concern ourselves more intensively with the rational use of coal, natural gas, non-ferrous ores, minerals, bauxite and agricultural raw materials.

Modern highly efficient food production based on the exploitation of favorable domestic agricultural conditions is of outstanding importance. Her climatic and soil conditions, the organization of socialist agriculture and the scientific and production experience garnered through generations make Hungary very suitable for considerably developing her export of food-stuffs.

#### Selective Development

We have to take into account, however, that even in case of the consistently thrifty use of import materials and the maximum exploitation of our natural resources we shall not be able to achieve as much energy or material import economy, nor to produce as much food export surplus which would be enough to keep the country's foreign trade balanced. Thus the bigger part of the import requirement of the Hungarian people's economy will have to be covered in the future too from the increasing export of machine industry, chemical industry and light industry products. However, these are exactly the fields in which we get into the most disadvantageous position now, to no small extent because the technical standard of the products is not everywhere up-to-date, the supplementary services (supply of spare parts, servicing, etc) are insufficiently developed, the productivity of labor is low and mass production has not reached the desired level either. Due to all these facts the profitability of export is not satisfactory either. Therefore one of the keys to the increasing of the export of processing industry--especially of machine industry and chemical industry--is vigorous technical development and the modernization of the production process, the strengthening of technological discipline.

In the small Hungarian people's economy the accomplishment of this great and complex development task can only be imagined by a well-considered selective development policy. In the development of the structure of production we must definitely give priority to the branches of production and groups of products for the high level cultivation of which the material and human conditions are already given or can be created within a relatively short time. This can be achieved first of all in the field in which Hungarian industry already has considerable traditions, as for instance in pharmaceutical industry, some fields of machine-tool industry and electronics, vacuum engineering, the production of the equipment of some complete production technologies, and in some branches of vehicle industry.

## In Good Quality

In the fields where the conditions are given efficiency must be increased by the vigorous increase of mass production as well. However, efforts to increase the size of series, especially in small countries, bring the desired result only if the products in question are produced on a high technical level and for a safe market. In our country mass production must be adapted first of all to the socialist international division of labor. This is what can secure above all the achievement of the above requirements and thereby the basis for the development of up-to-date and economical production. The increase of the size of series, however, cannot bring results in every field, as our economy is too small for this. In several fields it may be more expedient to develop production in smaller series but in excellent quality.

In the recent times we have rightly emphasized that the result of the development of production should be the increase of the manufacture of products that can be sold on any market. This means first of all a fast adjustment to demand, high technical level, excellent quality and competitive prices.

One of the guarantees for the achievement of this aim of ours is our active participation in the socialist international division of labor. Socialist economic integration means for the Hungarian people's economy the firm foundation relying on which we may meet the decisive proportion of our import requirement in the future too, this means above all the safe market for our export products, and through research and production cooperation it opens up new sources for the increasing of efficiency. Therefore it is our primary ambition to export to the socialist markets up-to-date producing equipment, industrial articles of consumption and food-stuffs meeting high requirements, and in exchange for this to meet the greatest possible proportion of the import requirement of our economy from the products of the fraternal countries. We have to accomplish great tasks in the increasing of our capitalist export as well, as we have to meet a great proportion of our import requirements from the capitalist countries. Therefore we must consider it one of the outstanding tasks of our economy to vigorously increase our export to the capitalist countries and to adjust our production more flexibly to the requirements of the capitalist market.

In the first year of the 5th five-year plan continued to show an unbroken development. However, the increase of the exportable commodity stocks does not yet reach the level demanded by the plan in order to improve the economic balance. This is partly due to our slower than necessary adjustment to the changes in the world economic situation, and partly to the fact that this year was unfavorable for our agriculture. In 1977 therefore our economy will have to face increased tasks. The changed world economic situation makes qualitatively new demands on our people working in production and foreign trade, on leaders and subordinates, individuals

and collectives of enterprises alike. It demands first of all better work and more flexible economic action which is better adjusted to the requirements. The far-reaching changes, which--partly because of the changed world economic situation--have to assert themselves in the Hungarian economy quicker than we imagined a few years before, make great demands first of all on the quality of the work of management and production.

It must be achieved that first of all those people should receive material support and recognition who achieved outstanding results in the accomplishment of the people's economic tasks. It is our vital interest to create a political, economic and moral atmosphere in which the activity of people who feel responsible for the society, who are often restless but who wish to create and do create, the activity of politically and professionally highly trained collectives with bold initiative, the activity of leaders and leading bodies that support what is new, will become the measure of success. We have to take cognizance of the fact that mediocrity and performance below it have been devalued by life, by the world surrounding us as well as by our own internal world, for good and all, and not only in respect of production but also as a requirement of thinking and behavior.

Our society, the whole of our people have the reserves the exploitation of which make them able to accomplish the difficult and complex tasks they are facing.

CSO: 2020

# MILITANT TRADITION OF NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, Nov 76 pp 25-27

/Article by Dr Fl. Constantiniu, chief researcher at the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History: "Militant Character of Historical Research"/

/Text/ The many and varied definitions of history have one express or implied element in common, namely the past. Actually, the past of human society is the object of historiographic investigation. This might explain the origin of a stereotype, as widespread as it is erroneous, of the historian divorced from reality, buried in a world of shadows, and ignoring the present to scrutinize the past. But more careful consideration of the relationship of history to contemporary events immediately dispels that illusion. The very origins of history as a discipline reveal this relationship quite clearly. In his "History of the Peloponnesian War" the Greek historian Thucydides (460-396 B.C.) points out that he began the work that was to make him famous as soon as hostilities broke out between Athens and Sparta, because he was convinced that he was witnessing the most widely significant conflict that had ever taken place. Was Thucydides a man of the past? Obviously not, since his writings were based upon observation of the present. From this founder of historical criticism to the present, historiography abounds in examples of the historian's close ties with the present.

As a man of his time the historian reflects the interests of his era in his work whether he realizes it or not. As a discipline, there is no history created by a historian in an ivory tower that isolates him from his community. Epistemological and social roots anchor history deeply and firmly in the life of society. Whether he likes it or not and whether he knows it or not, the historian is guided by a conception and a method that bear the stamp of the ideological confrontations and social-political conflicts, so that objectively speaking any historian writes a committed history, while subjectively he differs only in the extent of his awareness of his commitment. The greater this awareness is, the more pronounced is the militancy of historiography, which militancy must be judged anew in the light of the social and political interests it serves. For there is a militancy in the service of progressive forces and ideas just as there is another one serving backward forces and ideas.

In all its great stages, the history of Romanian historiography provides graphic examples of the historian's roots in contemporary events and of his effort to lend his writings the value and power of a weapon. In this case scholarly investigation is not confined to restoration of the past as an end in itself but seeks to meet political, class or national requirements.

The first manifestations of Romania's medieval historical literature, the annals or chronicles, were directly related to the struggle to consolidate the royal authority. The Bistrita and Putna annals and their treatment were based on a model from the time of Stefan the Great, whose effort toward a strong sovereignty and an independent country was highly praised. What the great prince was accomplishing by his political and military actions was an ideal for his chronicler to which he devoted his work, which thus became the valuable auxiliary of a policy as subtle in its means as it was firm in its objective of a strong and free nation.

The historiography of the 17th century, the golden age of medieval [sic] Romanian literature, is permeated by the chroniclers' constant effort to prove the Roman origin of the Romanian people and their unity throughout the political divisions caused by their historical vicissitudes. The most profound of these chroniclers, Miron Costin, emphasizes in a famous passage the polemic nature of his demonstration as well as its mobilizing function: "But look for yourself now, dear reader, as in a mirror and consider whence you came, casting aside all the other fables which some have told about you misled by ignorance, others by envy, which has never been lacking in the world among peoples, and others by unsound and unfounded writings." (1) For the Moldavian chronicler, the investigation of the Roman origins of his people was primarily intended to refute the arguments (the "fables") that were circulating about the origin of the Romanians, so that his contemporaries, inspired by the knowledge of a glorious past, might find in it the resources needed to fight for its revival.

The torch of honor of medieval Romanian historiography, from Grigore Ureche to Dimitrie Cantemir, was to be taken up at the close of the 18th century by the Transylvanian School. The brilliant team of Transylvanian scholars (Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior et al.) set an example of militant history. The fight for the political and social emancipation of the Romanians in Transylvania that was begun by Inochentie Micu was scientifically substantiated by the Transylvanian School. In their works these historians demonstrated the continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube, their Roman origin and consequently their ethnic and historical unity. Aware of the political importance of their scientific work, they combined it with an intensive and direct participation in the political struggle. The "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (1791) edited, among others, by the most illustrious figures of the Transylvanian School is the natural and necessary complement of their historiography.

The same sense of social and political responsibility later inspired the major representatives of modern Romanian historiography. In the Pasoptist generation, Nicolae Balcescu and Mihail Kogalniceanu best personified the close involvement of historiography with the political struggle. They expected the study of Romanian society's past to throw light upon the contemporary facts and to permit their transformation to an innovating spirit. The ideals of

social justice, unity and national independence governed the preparation of works that opened up a whole field of research in our historiography, namely that of economic and social history.

After the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia (1859) and the acquisition of independence (1877) the Romanian historians engaged in polemics on the continuity of the Romanians in the Carpatho-Danubian area after the withdrawal of the Roman army and administration from Dacia (271-274). Discussion (2) of Roesler's theory, in which A. D. Xenopol and D. Onciul took part, was both scientific and political: It was not only a matter of sifting, through the fine sieve of the latest and severest methods of criticizing the sources, the data on the persistence of the Romanic and then the Romanian element north of the Danube in the period of the migration of the peoples, but also a matter of asserting the rights of a people to their native land which they had ruled and defended despite all the wrongs (the "evils" mentioned by the chronicler) with which history had confronted them. And what better example can be cited of the militancy of the history than Nicolae Iorga's uniform presentation of the history of the Romanian people in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania in the first synthesis of national history, which he published in 1905, breaking with the customary treatment. (3) In this way he anticipated on the historiographic level the national unity that was to be achieved in 1918.

Marxist historiography displayed a higher militancy from its beginnings. To cite just one example, "The German Peasant War" by F. Engels most convincingly illustrates the historiography that fully meets the requirements of scientific objectivity and party spirit. For information, as we know, Engels based his investigations on the material collected by W. Zimmermann, but as contrasted with his precursor he added a profound analysis based upon the historical-materialist conception, on which he also based a revolutionary viewpoint placing the events of 1525 in the German states in a historical context of broad political significance.

Romanian Marxist historiography took its stand permanently and in principle on the ground of the political struggle and the militant commitment of historiography to the struggle of the proletariat for its liberation and that of all society from any form of exploitation. From pioneers like C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea and Raicu Ionescu-Rion to the Marxist historians of the 1930's (considering the period before the people's revolution), they all realized that their studies were providing a scientific explanation of the evolution of Romanian society and enabling it to find its best approach to socialism. In the introduction to his work "A Century of Social Upheavals: 1821-1907," Lucretiu Patrascanu wrote, "To understand and explain the past social and political phenomena and also to set the future course of the Romanian people, it is of the greatest importance to determine the directions of their evolution. For the future cannot constitute a leap into the unknown but is derived and formed, at the same time, from the elements and material provided by the past." (4) The very composition of this work (the author lists in a preface the difficulties in its preparation: illegality, internments, obligatory residence) has the value of a symbol: The aspects of a communist militant and a Marxist historian are fused in the personality of one figure equally outstanding in the history of the RCP and in that of Romanian Marxist historiography.

This militant tradition of Romanian historiography, which goes back to its beginnings in the 15th century, was cultivated, applied and improved in the years of socialist construction. In the light of dialectical and historical materialism, the Romanian researchers undertook a comprehensive and intensive investigation of our people's past and their fight for justice, freedom and independence. Relying upon a documentary base of unprecedented extent formed by painstaking and systematic search of archives at home and abroad, the Romanian historians prepared syntheses, monographs and special studies wherein the nation's history was treated in accordance with the modern techniques of investigation and source criticism and the new advances of dialectical-materialist and historical thought.

Emphasis upon the importance of the factor of currency in historiography and of the committed or rather militant character of historical research again brings up the possibility of an objective history free of what some call "the tyranny of contemporary considerations." The problem has been more and more frequently formulated in the philosophy of history, along with the shift of the conflict between materialism and idealism in historiography (or more accurately in the philosophy of history) from ontological to epistemological grounds.

Positivist historiography believed that the personality of the historian as a cognitive subject can be reduced to zero. The data and knowledge were supposed to pass from the historical sources to the pages of history untouched and unaltered by the concerns of the historian, who was expected to use his intellectual and investigative equipment in a kind of sterilized isolation from any "contemporary microbe."

The criticisms of this conception from the positions of subjective idealism (especially in H. I. Marrou's well-known work "De la connaissance historique") institute a relationship between the object of historical investigation and the investigator that is reminiscent of Avenarius's "fundamental coordination" between object and subject. Marrou writes, "To be sure objectivity and subjectivity can be distinguished in this complex (of research -- our note), but they cannot be separated. It would be a purely logical operation, a formal and not a real distinction." (5) For the French historian the past apprehended by a historian is so reprocessed and renovated according to the logical and technical servitudes of the historian and the historical science of his period that ontologically this past has become another one. The subject creates the object. Subjective idealism is flatly asserted.

Obviously no such relationship and no such conception can clarify the true relation between the historian, the time at which he writes, and the object of his efforts. By revealing the epistemological and social roots of any school of ideas (including the historiographic ones) Marxism throws the searchlight of knowledge on the social-political context in which any historical work is conceived. It examines and judges it in the light of the general level of knowledge at the given historical point and the interests of the social-political forces, which interests it expresses or serves. Marxism does not deny but confirms the social-historical conditioning of any scientific investigation.

While revealing this relationship, Marxism is at the same time unalterably opposed to any forms of presentism, conjuncturism etc., in brief of alteration



of the historical investigation according to the conditions or context wherein it is performed. Neither as a cognitive subject nor as a man of any given space-time relationship can the historian sacrifice the truth he is seeking on the altar of a divinity, which cannot be contemporary times but their counterfeit. Let us be clearly understood: As a man of fortitude [cetate] the historian serves his contemporaries by telling them the truth about the historical problems that interest him at the time. There are many viewpoints from which the so rich history of human society can be approached, but there is only one historical truth. The dialectical-materialist and historical conception alone can apprehend and explain this truth in its whole extent and depth.

The revolutionary character of Marxism, which is not confined to explaining the world but proposes to change it, also applies to Marxist historiography. It does not study the past out of love of the past but to serve the present in the struggle for a better future. There is no incompatibility between Ranke's classic desideratum of writing history "as it was in reality" and the Marxist interpretation of history. Interested in the most accurate knowledge of the laws of social development because that is the only way they can be freed, the working class and its party, made the leading social force by the victory of the socialist revolution, want a strictly scientific history with high functions of educating and mobilizing the masses that are building socialism. For the first time, Marxist historiography coordinates objectivity and party spirit. It lends historical research a broad social-political function, bringing historical inquiry out of the pages of publications for limited circles of specialists to make it available to the masses as a means of ideological instruction and patriotic indoctrination. Marxist historiography is the highest and most effective manifestation of militant historical research.

The aggressive political mission of history as a discipline and its function in the construction of our fully developed socialist society were pointed out by Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in memorable words: "In the socialist indoctrination of the masses knowledge of their own history is an important factor in the development of the people's self-awareness and their knowledge of what was progressive and truly revolutionary in their past and what was backward and to be combatted. Moreover the study of history conveys knowledge of the traditional ties among peoples that existed over the centuries, especially among neighboring peoples, of their relations of solidarity and mutual aid in the battle for the cause of freedom and independence, and of the aspects of the old policy of domination and oppression pursued by the great powers in the past and the policy of dissension among peoples fomented by the exploiting classes. That is why the profoundly objective presentation and correct, principled interpretation of the historical data and facts are essentially important to the elimination of the sources of distrust and animosity created between peoples over the years." (6)

The critically applied heritage of the old Romanian historiography and the studies made in the last three decades have considerably enhanced the disciplines concerning the history of the Romanian people. But it would be entirely wrong to think the quest for knowledge has borne all its fruits and is consequently over. Our knowledge of Romanian history and the images we have formed of certain personalities or aspects reflect a certain stage of investigation. But

as everyone knows, science does not stand still. Discovery of original sources and new techniques and directions of research modify or enlarge the horizons of knowledge and consequently call for revision and more intensive study of basic problems of Romanian history.

A long list of such problems awaits monographic or synthetic treatment. The formation and continuity of the Romanian people, the appearance of the Romanian feudal states, the struggle for national and social emancipation, the achievement of the national state, the acquisition of independence, the appearance, development and struggles of the proletariat, and the conduct of the people's revolution are also problems wherein scientific interest and the social, political and educational functions of history are most closely associated. As communist militants the Romanian historians are expected to advance scientific truth by interpreting the phenomena of Romania's social development in the light of materialist dialectics.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Miron Costin, "Works," edited by P. P. Panaitescu, Bucharest, 1958, p 247.
2. See especially D. Onciul, "Roesler's Theory" in "Historical Writings," edited by A. Sacerdoteanu, Vol I, Bucharest, 1968, pp 131-360. R. Roesler claimed that the Romanians came from south of the Danube at the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century.
3. N. Iorga, "Geschichte des rumaenischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen," Vol I-II, Gotha, 1905.
4. L. Patrascanu, "A Century of Social Upheavals: 1821-1907," third edition, Political Publishing House, 1969, p 7.
5. H. I. Marrou, in the collected volume "L'histoire et ses methodes," Bruges, 1967, p 1,526.
6. "Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture," Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 46-47.

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## ROMANIA

### TEACHERS INDIFFERENT TO STUDENTS' PREGNANCIES

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 11 Nov 76 p 18

[Article by Dorin Gherghinescu: "The Incredible Acts of a School Director"]

[Text] A letter that arrived at the editorial staff recently led me to the "Electroprecision" School Group, near the factory with the same name in Sacele-Brasov. The letter reported, among other things, the dramatic consequences, upon the lives of certain girl students, as a result of the lack of supervision and immoral behavior, as well as grave, nearly unbelievable, abuses committed by the school director. However, what was to be believed and what was not, I had to find out by going to Sacele.

Galin Gane, professor and teacher during the last school year in class 206, in which E. M. was a student. "I found out during the summer that E. M. was pregnant. I spoke with her. I asked her how it happened. I'll let you know, she hadn't been living in the dorms since School Year I. I spoke with Comrade Director Josan. I pleaded to allow her to finish school, that is, until School Year III, in order to be trained. The comrade director refused. I told the girl to try to find a solution herself, to see if she couldn't get some on-the-job training at an enterprise in Brasov or somewhere else. She couldn't get any. Student V. M. was another "case" from this same class. She didn't show up for retesting; she didn't come to class. I wrote to her parents so they could come to school and explain. The girl is in danger of being left back because of her absenteeism."

Petru Draghici, master instructor and teacher of class 201: "Yes, I know. How couldn't I know about students B. P. and R. I. From the beginning I had written statement in which it told of a night the girls spent with several boys. The girls say that nothing happened. How could I take them to the doctor? One girl hasn't been at the dorm since 15 September. I found out that she's staying in Sacele. I sent for her, but she didn't come back."

Virginia Gornea, professor: "It's not the first time we've had to deal with such cases. Four years ago we had a girl student in School Year III that was pregnant in her second month. After the necessary maternity leave she made up the difference in time lost, and finished school. She was tested after 15 June 1972, after she had finished her classes...."

Florica Raglean, teacher: "One night last winter, about three o'clock in the morning, I woke up to someone knocking on my door. Because the knocking became unbearable I opened it. It was Comrade Director Josan with a certain Comrade Inspector Chitoescu, from the Ministry of Machine Construction and Electrical Equipment Industry, to which the school is subordinated. They asked--Can you imagine this?--at that hour, which teacher was on duty. They were all, too, obviously drunk. Later I looked for a friend of mine, Erika Amsar. Further, the girls told me that it was not the first time they had seen Comrade Josan in that condition, in the dorm, at night. Several days later the comrade master-instructor, Sigmond, asked me for a statement about what had happened. But everything was covered up."

Erika Amsar, teacher: "That night I was afraid and I went to my friend Constanta Ceapa and I slept in her room. But this was not the only time that I was sought out. One night, after lights-out, I was in the room with Constanta Ceapa and another girl who did not feel well. My friend had brought her there to sleep so she could take care of her without disturbing the other girls. Comrade Director Josan came to the room and didn't want to leave. I and my friend, who had to get out of bed and get dressed in front of the director, played rummy until morning, and the comrade director sat there on a chair...."

Constanta Ceapa, currently a librarian at the Cernatu library: "Many times I stayed in Erika's room. And, because we were friends--we were the only two who were unmarried--we stayed together so as to get through the terrible nights more easily when the comrade director was out drinking and did not go home but broke into our room. Not just once it happened that, late at night, he would beat on the door and yell at us to open it. If he saw that the door was not going to be opened he would kick the dickens out of the door. During the night we had brought the sick girl into our room. I think it was already about 11:30 pm when he knocked on the door. We didn't know who it was but we soon found out, after his first screams: it was Comrade Director Josan. This yelling 'spectacle' lasted for three-quarters of an hour and was heard by the students in the dorm, who were turning colors. After this he forced open the door and broke into our room. In the morning he finally left. That night when he came with Comrade Inspector Chitoescu the entire girls' dorm was scared. It was 2:45 in the morning. Another night Comrade Josan was walking through the dorm looking for a girl which he claimed he wanted to take with him. He got mad at Erika and me because we refused to go with him and Comrade Chitoescu to a party in the small room of the canteen, given after an "exchange of experiences." The last incident occurred one day about four in the afternoon, when he was in the dorm making an inspection. When he finished he wanted to see my room. After he entered he locked the door and put the key in his pocket. He sat down on the bed and asked me to sit down with him. I refused and told him I was going to scream for help. He tortured me for more than a half hour and, seeing that he was not going to get what he wanted, he left me alone and departed.... You can imagine how we look in the eyes of the students after such incidents."

Bela Sigmond, master-instructor: "I have heard about some pregnant students. However, this subject has never been discussed in the professorial councils. Regarding the incident provoked by Director Ioan Josan and Inspector Chitoescu, I found out that morning. I told Comrade Stelain Comsa of the factory about what happened. Check into it, I told him, or do what you wish!"

Professor Engineer Radu C. Gologan: "Yes, I know about that girl. I found out during March-April of this year that she was pregnant. In June she told me that she was in her fifth month. I did not want to know. I heard that there is another girl who also finished school this summer who is pregnant. Recently--she is already working in the factory--she told me that she is in her third or fourth month."

Ioan Solomon, deputy director: "Comrade Comsa and Comrade Doina Damian asked me about Comrade Director Josan, if he still comes to work drunk. I told them no. In fact, that is how it is. But, regarding the examination for Step II given last summer when the comrade director was president of the commission, what can I say? He found out at one point in time that the written papers, and the grades upon them, did not represent the students in some cases as the professors knew them. At that point Comrade Josan agreed with the examiners to change the grades on certain papers so they would be more in agreement with the students' grades in the grade book. Certainly this was not legal, but it was considered more just. As a result of this incident there was an investigation by the county school inspectorate which levied sanctions upon the guilty professors and, for the president of the commission, the inspectorate proposed that the ministry mete out the punishment. As far as I know, he received a letter from the ministry, but I haven't seen it."

Stefan Risnovenanu, deputy director: "I do not know the names of the pregnant girls. I have also heard something about this. With regard to the night of the director's misbehavior, I was also questioned but what can I say? I did not see it."

Ioan Josan, director of the school group: "During the summer exams we realized that a good student was going to fail. We did not want to permit that, so the grades were changed to passing marks. Later we could not believe that a girl who was getting grades of five could present a paper with a grade of nine (sic!). Regarding the pregnant students, we discussed the issue at the teachers' council. We are trying hard and we are carrying out educational work with the students and the teachers' councils with educational themes. One cannot characterize a school because of two or three cases of pregnancies. Further, I do not know any names and I do not know how many cases there are."

The incidents occurring at the "Electroprecision" School Group are isolated cases. They must be considered both within the overall view of education in Brasov and upon the fact that they constitute some grave

deviations from professional behavior on the part of certain members of the teaching staff, led by Director Ioan Josan. They manifest crass indifference on the part of a group of teachers compared to the moral climate within which the attitude of a portion of the students of this school is being formed; this is a bitter renunciation of the socialist norms of ethics and equality of all people. This case, subjected by our newspaper to the judgment of public opinion, becomes even more reprehensible, since a good part of the school's teaching staff--in addition to the fact that these people are teachers, the creators of conscience--are parents also. Their indifference to the fate of the students and the general manner in which they carry out their lives at school prove the existence of indifference within the framework of the teaching collective and points out another trait of some of those within the collective: selfishness. And a selfish teacher gets nowhere with his students!

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CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### JOURNALIST ATTACKED FOR SLANDER

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 11 Nov 76 p 18

[Article by Nicolae Cristache: "For the Same 'Personal Reasons'"]

[Text] In issue number 42 of the newspaper, an article appeared entitled "For Personal Reasons" signed by Traian Cosovei. Author and publicist Traian Cosovei, through the use of a pamphlet, characterized a currently spreading practice in certain enterprises and institutes: resignations "for personal reasons." That is, when an investigation is on its way to uncover certain unpleasant things, the person under investigation, so as not to have to answer to the law or people, presents his elegant resignation "for personal reasons." Until the trouble passes. Then, "the personal reasons" disappear and everything goes back to normal. Adding to this reality the incontestable fact of the notoriety and professional integrity which Traian Cosovei enjoys, we get the explanation why we decided to publish the above-mentioned pamphlet in the pages of this newspaper. Especially since the names of the implicated persons and those of the enterprises were noted only by their initials. This practice is not followed by our newspaper; we have admitted everything at the request of the author to respect the practices and styles of newspaper reporting.

There followed a wave of indignant letters. The tone of the pamphlet, the expressions used and the mocking nuances were vehemently condemned, that is, everything associated with this style of reporting. Similarly, they demanded a counter-investigation and public rehabilitation of the compromised names.

Traian Cosovei visited us at the editorial staff accompanied by a voluminous dossier filled with letters on the basis of which he had written the article published by the newspaper. The dossier also contained an author's note, a note which mentioned, among other things, the names of the supporters and benefactors of Cr. I.'s position as deputy director. Most of these people were also the signers of the letters of indignation. A fact which did not stop us from proceeding with the requested counter-investigation.

At the appropriate ministry there was another surprise: all of the people who had written to Traian Cosovei were pointed out to us. Therefore, we were obviously dealing with a personal conflict and we, unfortunately but objectively, ascertained that in this case publicist Traian Cosovei had not respected the practice of maintaining an appropriate distance from a personal conflict during his investigation. He took into consideration the statements of certain parties: those who were complaining. And, even if the enumerated facts can be only partially confirmed, the fact that he did not discuss things with the parties incriminated in the complaints, that he did not carry out an on-the-scene check of the veracity of the statements which he believed supported the complaints, and that he attributed crude names to those parties, allowing himself to be guided by these unilaterally received statements, placed the author of this pamphlet in a position beyond the spirit and the norms which our newspaper promotes and, as a result, we are making the appropriate corrections.

The initials IFLGS-MMPC are real. They mean: the Enterprise for Special Geological Drilling and Projects of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology. According to the description in the pamphlet it is not a respectable enterprise, but in reality it is one of the pioneer enterprises in the country responsible for many of the successes of the Romanian economy. In addition to an existence that has been more than just heroic, the engineers and technicians of IFLGS have carried out their duties with self-denial and with the force of sacrifice as our own brave builders of socialism in our country. In the forefront, for nearly one-quarter of a century, is Z. I., who is no other than Iorgu Zahiu. Iorgu Zahiu is one of the patriarchs of Romanian geology, and example of revolutionary and party awareness who has devoted his life to the land and its subterranean wealth, pulling together with those that he leads, to the country's benefit, to extract the reserves of useful mineral substances that the party and the people need.

Cr. I.--the main target of the pamphlet--has no connection with the real Cretu Ion. As a result of an investigation carried out at the request of a number of anonymous letters, there were uncovered several irregularities in this person's activities. These irregularities were specified in the report of the investigatory commission as being caused by certain conflicts. Thus the anonymous complaints. And, because there was talk of anonymous letters, we could not proceed to look into things, since this type of petty and vile "criticism," stirring up supposedly good relations, did nothing but further hurt the situation; this was occasionally understood, in the area of humiliation where the light of truth shines only through keyholes. Cretu Ion was found guilty of the charges, for which he was punished by the responsible ministry. This fact, not normal in any sense, but objective, does not justify the negative tone used by the author of the pamphlet. Just as he cannot justify the references to his particular life or the childish references and below-the-belt remarks which unjustifiably and totally without basis imply that other initials, real people, are guilty only because they were Ion Cretu's friends or worked around him.



The letters received here at the editorial staff as well as the statements gathered during the counter-investigation create a clear picture of the indicators of the existence of an unnatural situation of relationships between geologists at the enterprise, in which the guilty parties, and to the same degree of responsibility in accord with the public awareness and with the basic interest of work, are those persons who continue the situation in one way or another. We are making these statements since we feel that, on the one hand, to write about people and not take into account the dialectics of the relationships between them and, on the other hand, between them and the circumstances of their lives, implies a sad error in his understanding of the purposes of newspaper reporting, an error which, in this case, is the source of the paradox of the good faith of the pamphlet's author. Good faith which, in this case, cannot be placed under the sign of doubt.

Knowing the people, the enterprise, the good interpreters of our country's underground, the engineers, workers, and technicians, we are convinced that they themselves will be the ones which will know how to find the way to eliminate from their lives all the situations which are generating or maintaining the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust and hate between geologists.

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## ROMANIA

### VIOLATIONS OF LAW BY ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS CITED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 11 Nov 76 p 19

[Article by Ovidiu Ioanitoaia: "The Illegal Acts and Violations Committed By the People For Which the Respect of the Law Is Not Only a Citizenly Obligation, But Also a Professional One!"]

[Text] Briefly, the following are the events that took place at the Collective Office of Legal Assistance in Oltenita, belonging to the College of Lawyers of Bucharest Municipality: assigned as director of the BCAJ in Oltenita in the summer, the remarkable professional, Mircea Straoanu, author of over 40 scientific works in Romanian and in foreign languages, co-author of the work, "The Organs of the State Administration of the Socialist Republic of Romania," Academy Publishing House, 1971, former United Nations scholar with special training in France and Belgium, discovered a series of irregularities in the work of the secretary of this office, Florica Gaita, and notified higher authorities, the College of Lawyers, for the purpose of breaking the secretary's work contract. The arguments upon which he based his position, which we will deal with below, appeared--as substantiated to the College, which was interested more in the statements than in the acts in order to bring order to Oltenita--in proceedings in which, only in recent times, a number of lawyers were investigated by the authorities. As a result, two lawyers were convicted by such a huge amount of substantiated evidence that it was decided to break both Florica Gaita's work contract, by asking for her resignation, and remove Mircea Straoanu from leadership activities!!

We will come back to the legalities and circumstances of these two measures. For now, allow us to investigate whether or not the former director of BCAJ Oltenita was right in asking that secretary Florica Gaita's work contract be broken. We shall write from the very beginning that he was perfectly right, as we shall immediately prove, based upon on-the-scene findings and documentation, all demonstrating the secretary's abusive and empirical work manners and her mistakes, be they large or small, some of which, in our opinion, were of a criminal nature. Let's detail the situation from the beginning. First of all, it is surprising that Florica Gaita was hired for the position of secretary at BCAJ Oltenita,

work card noting that she had prior work experience at the Oltenita Mill Works as a mathematician and, later, as a laboratory reporter, occupations, certainly, which are closely connected with her professional training--a graduate of a high school featuring general culture! From a position as laboratory reporter to a mill works to a secretary in a lawyer's office is, naturally, a very long way and probably hard to justify in a legal sense, but we must rightly state all this, since Florica Gaita's assignment to BCAJ, according to the verified information that we have, followed serious deteriorations of conjugal relations. But this is another story, which we will have to cover against our will and without any pleasure but upon which we will not linger, since each party has the right--and shouldn't it be so?--to make their bed as they see fit and sleep accordingly. In sum, Florica Gaita was reproached not by devious words whispered in corners but by letters and official papers which showed a defective style of work. Her violations and infractions (the exact extent of which is not within our competence certainly) are as follows:

a) Falsification of public documents. Determined in accordance with the Written Reprimand given at the BCAJ Oltenita on 12 July 1976, as a result of the objective verification of the secretary's activities and in conformity with our on-the-scene findings, gathered on 3 November 1976, in the presence of Judge Teodor Macesanu, the secretary of the party organization at BCAJ, notary, procurator and judge at Oltenia. In other words, we found falsified dates on receipts and on memoranda taken from the bank and gross falsifications easily observed with the naked eye.

b) Failure to deposit certain sums of money within the legal time frame and, implicitly, withdrawing sums of money that, by law, are required to stay within the banking system. As our argument, we shall use a statement made by the former secretary in which one may read: "I can recall that I did not always make deposits on time, sometimes because of negligence on my part and other times because there were too many people in the office and I was too late to go to the bank." Or, in another statement from the same secretary: "For the date of 12 July 1976, it shows that I did not make any deposits (incorrect!) and the last deposit is for the date of 9 July 1976, which I made at the college cashier because on 9 July 1976 I was at the College of Lawyers on some personal business." Finally, also under the signature of the former secretary: "On 7 July 1976 I did not go to the bank to make any deposits because it was raining very hard and I could not go to the bank," and so forth and so on.

c) Repeated negligence at work. The Correspondence Register with hundreds of items left undone, left blank to eventually be completed later. Hidden correspondence. Reports not forwarded to the leadership. Failure to respect regulations regarding filling out time cards for unit employees, time cards left unsigned for months!

d) The clandestine practice of law, in the sense of illegally completing certain legal actions, as in the case outlined by the statements of Dumitru Ciocilteu of Oltenita, Alexandru Sahia Street, Number 276. His statement is in our possession.

e) Misrepresentation through the manipulation of falsified documents and illegal handling of money, as is shown, among other things, by the Written Reprimand of 10 October 1975, from Judge Teodor Macesanu on behalf of B. O.B.: "...Following the discussions carried out, it was shown that lawyer Tautu Stefan gave secretary Florica Gaita a sum of 200 lei representing a defense fee. Although she took the 200 lei, Florica Gaita did not give him a receipt, causing comrade lawyer Tautu to leave the office without knowing the name of the person to whom he had just given the money." And further below: "Likewise, her off-duty behavior was pointed out to her, due to the fact that there was talk regarding her relationship, deemed too close, with comrade lawyer Dragomir Toma, who is frequently seen in the company of comrade Florica Gaita."

f) Repeated absenteeism during work hours, to which the former secretary herself candidly admits: "On Saturday, 10 July 1976, I was absent from work without leave because of personal business."

Having made these statements of demonstrated guilt, be they large or small, Mircea Straoanu, sent to Oltenita to bring about order, and being a young a capable person, addressed the college asking, and correctly so, that the secretary's work contract be broken for disciplinary reasons, according to article 100, letter "f" of the Work Code. However, the college decided upon a resignation on demand, on the basis of petition number 7,981 of 29 July 1976, a date which should correspond to the date upon which the college held its meeting, if the date was not modified later in order to coincide and take on a legal character. Further, in order to show what type of strange sympathy Florica Gaita enjoyed at this college, where Vice President Liviu Corvin was responsible and is responsible for the problems at BCAJ Oltenita, it is sufficient to note that 2 days after the decision to break the secretary's work contract, Corvin forwarded a notice which said--we quote--"We herein state that comrade Florica Gaita is employed at this college as a Class-II secretary..."!?

At about the same time, as we said, Mircea Straoanu was removed from his position as director and reassigned in the wake of a meeting of the college to which he was not invited. As a result, this was an illegal meeting because of a procedural error. Considering himself innocent, Straoanu notified this newspaper. And we notified vice president Liviu Corvin. This whole situation appeared to be confused in the sense that Mircea Straoanu "had exceeded his authority" in a way in which, naturally, our interlocutor could not specify. He had heard something, but he did not know anything precisely. It is certain that "Mircea Straoanu was never anything more than the deputy director at Oltenita"! The exclamation marks are ours since, during our investigation, we had the opportunity to look over Certificate Number 10,647 issued by the college through which we learned that "comrade Mircea Straoanu was a member of this college as a defense lawyer and, at the same time, filling the position of director of the Collective Office of Legal Assistance at Oltenita." The high point of this ironic situation or amnesia, as you wish, is the fact that this paper, in the possession of an IAL, is signed by the vice president, Liviu Corvin!!!

Before presenting in detail the discussions with Liviu Corvin, there is another opinion from one of the more authoritarian persons regarding the work carried out by the former director of BCAJ Oltenita, Mircea Straoanu, the opinion of the secretary of the party organization, Judge Teodor Macesanu: "I know that Straoanu requested an administrative investigation and I also know that to our surprise he was removed from his position. I do not know if anything can be inferred beyond this. I knew him as a workingman who was worthy, vigilant, and for those qualities I tasked him as a propagandist within the political-ideological training program. Furthermore, I also had difficulties with lawyers of the college. I understood them but no one took any measures. Most of all, I was amazed by the fact, certainly in another sense, that the College of Lawyers had not organized elections, as is done in Bucharest Municipality and Ilfov County, and as the operating charter of the organization demands, for a long time. I think about 5 years."

Now, we move to the office of Vice President Liviu Corvin.

Q: Comrade Vice President, what did you have to remove the former director of Oltenita?

A: Nothing. It has been said that he exceeded his bounds while investigating some lawyers.

Q: In what sense?

A: I couldn't say.

Q: Somehow in reference to the activities of Florica Gaita?

A: Perhaps, I do not know.

Q: From what we know, Mircea Straoanu requested an administrative investigation at Oltenita. Was it carried out?

A: Certainly. Our director of the secretariat, Mircea Dascalescu, carried out the basic investigation there, finding that Florica Gaita had made an accounting error, in the library, of 34 lei.

Q: Thus, the rest of the charges outlined in the letter signed by the former director of BCAJ have not been confirmed?

A: As far as I know.

Unfortunately, vice president Liviu Corvin, the one in the best position to know, does not know, even though in reality the truth is something else. In our presence, director Dascalescu remembered that a basic investigation was not carried out, but instead only a check of a few single days was made, which, naturally, is something else again. In other words, Mircea Straoanu's report, based upon what we have noted above, was not taken into account. In exchange, words were taken into account, without proof, that he had exceeded the bounds of his authority!

Q: Comrade Vice President, who decided to replace Mircea Straoanu?

A: I was against this decision, figuring that the fellow should conclude his assignment to Oltenita on 31 December, when his contract would expire, and then move on with his head held high as he deserved.

Q: Then who decided?

A: The college did in a meeting, by the vote of the lawyers.

Q: Does this meeting issue a written statement?

A: No.

Q: Well, don't you somehow remember who voted for and who voted against? In other words, what was the voting?

A: I do not remember.

Q: Did the director of BCAJ have his say? Was he asked to give an explanation?

A: I do not think so.

Q: What does this mean?

A: The decision was not legal. For this reason, I called Mircea Straoanu to the college so he could give his explanation.

Thus this decision, and we are not alone in saying this, since one of the most authoritarian persons also says so, is not legal. But, so as not to drag this discussion on, is not someone responsible for this long string of illegal moves and abuses committed by the people who have the professional right and legal obligation to defend the law? It is well known that it is worse to persist once a mistake has been made, especially once it has been admitted, as in our case here, than to make one. And, if it has been committed, does not anyone have the courage and strength to correct the situation? We are waiting for the correct and quick response from the legal organs, knowing that sooner or later, in a country such as ours which punishes wrongs and respects the law, the truth will, in the end come to light. We are waiting for it.

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## ROMANIA

### HUNGARIAN MINORITY PUPILS MUST LEARN ROMANIAN

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian Nov 76  
pp 4-5

[Article by Prof Albert Szigeti, director of the Covasna High School:  
"The Thorough Mastery of the Romanian Language--a Patriotic Duty of the  
Students Who Are Taught in the Languages of the Coinhabitating Minorities"]

[Text] The purpose of teaching the Romanian language in school is, as one knows, the creation of the capability to express one's self in a correct and varied manner in writing and in speaking, the creation of a taste for reading, and the education of students in the spirit of socialist patriotism and of appreciating the literary skill of our people. Within this broad context it is especially important for students taught in languages of the coinhabitating nationalities to know the Romanian language, and this represents, at the same time, a condition of achieving full, equal rights for all the youngsters in our country, regardless of their nationality--a condition of cementing the moral and political unity of our people. The role of the professor of Romanian literature and language, keeping in mind these conditions, is decisive in order for the students of these schools to thoroughly learn the Romanian language; and, to a great degree, the future of these students and the plenary achievement of their personalities in life and society depend upon these professors.

The professors of Romanian literature and language at the Covasna High School, a school where students of Hungarian nationality are learning right alongside Romanian students, have obtained important success from year to year in the direction of getting the students in the school's Hungarian section to thoroughly master the Romanian language. Their level of use of the Romanian language, their correct mastery of Romanian, their vocabulary, and the richness and color of their expressions attest to the fact that conclusive results have been recorded. These achievements are a result of a change in the work style of the professors of Romanian and of an increase in their concern for improving and modernizing their work methods with the students, things which are now in practice in our schools. One can state that the modernization of teaching and the new teaching

techniques have resulted in speeding up the process of mastering the Romanian language so that the difference between the knowledge of the Romanian language by the Romanian students and the Hungarian students has become smaller or even disappeared. One can function almost under the same conditions in the Hungarian section as in the Romanian section, using the same methods and procedures in conversations, questioning, learning through discovery, group work, exercises, compositions, and so forth.

As a result of these activities of mastering the Romanian language, the students in our high school can and do read all, or nearly all, necessary readings in Romanian because the profound study of Romanian literature, as well as the achievement of certain literary analyses at a level corresponding to the demands of contemporary school, can be achieved only on the basis of an effective reading of the works being studied so that the student has the possibility of showing his appreciation of these works while fully understanding their background, and has rich material at hand from which to support his statements. Thus, the hours for studying Romanian literature are transformed into a work laboratory where all students take part in the discussions and present hypotheses in different, conflicting situations which do or do not hold up during these collective discussions. In this way the students learn how to learn and abandon the practice of memorizing certain formulated opinions as outlined in manuals which, by virtue of their form and content, are sometimes difficult and remote.

The generalization during the first step of high school means, first of all, raising the level of culture of all the people. For that reason mastery of the Romanian language must therefore enable any student who graduates from Step I in high school to respond to the demands, be they social, professional, or cultural, that our society puts before every youngster. Through his contact with literature and through intensification of the formative character of literature, the students are educated in the spirit of scientific concepts about the world and life and in the spirit of creating the character traits necessary to the new man of our society.

An especially important role in thoroughly mastering the Romanian language is also played by activities outside the classroom, such as literary circles, excursions, artistic programs, reunions, and activities organized jointly with the students in the Romanian section. These are things which lead to the cementing of ties between the students of the two sections, and to establishing those friendly and comradely relationships which show, in the final instance, that the students of the Hungarian section have grown fond of the Romanian language and are familiar with its nuances. To this end, in our high school we are carrying out a sustained activity of creating for the students an atmosphere of love of the Romanian language and the achievements of the Romanian people, the builders of communism, so that these students of Romanian can naturally approach their task and are attracted to the appropriate mastering of the Romanian language.



The teaching staff at the Covasna High School is fully aware that the improvement of teaching methods and the thorough mastering of the Romanian language represent essential demands springing from the need to cement the unity and brotherhood of all workers in our country, Romanians, Hungarians, and other nationalities. This action is designed to lead to raising of the level of knowledge of the Romanian language by the coinhabitating minorities who thusly can ensure the possibility of their full participation in the economic and social life of Socialist Romania. The words of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, are still fresh in our memories: "The Romanian language is not a foreign language to any youngster living in Romania. It is the language of our socialist society and it must be learned by all Romanian citizens. Only in this way can the conditions of equal rights be achieved."

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CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### FRENCH WRITER'S WORK ON MOLDAVIAN PEOPLE, LANGUAGE DISCUSSED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Nov 76 pp 16-18

[Article by Constantin Rezachevici: "We Are Preserving the Laws and Language of One of the First People of the World"]

[Text] Among the foreigners who wrote competently and with understanding about the history of Moldavia and the language and customs of the Romanian people, Alexandre-Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, Count d'Hauterive (1754-1830), occupies a position in the forefront. The son of a minor noblemen from the French province Dauphine, in 1784 he accompanied Choiseul-Gouffier, the new French ambassador, to Constantinopol. The following year, as secretary to Alexandru Mavrocordat II, nicknamed Firaris (The Hasty), he arrived in Iasi. His impressions of the trip to Iasi, recorded in his travel diary, were followed the same year by a description of Moldavia. He remained in Iasi for a while, and after Alexandru Mavrocordat fled, in 1787, he turned over to the new ruler, Alexandru Ipsilanti, a "Memorandum Regarding Present and Past Conditions of Moldavia," after which he returned to France. Count d'Hauterive was a bright figure, a scholarly philologist, a diplomat, consul to New York (1792), later working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Talleyrand, a special secretary to Napoleon during the period of the French Consulate, later an editor of the foreign diplomatic papers of the empire and director of the Archives of Foreign Affairs, and a sincere friend of the Romanian people and, in this sense, the forerunner of Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Jean Vaillant, A. Ubicini, and so forth.

His work on Moldavia, published just at the end of the last century and in the first days of this century, little known to the public at large, contains pages about the origin, language, qualities and customs of the Romanian people that were carefully deemed appropriate.

In Moldavia There Are Old Men Who Call Their Land "Wallachia"

D'Hauterive knew the Romanian lands during a complex and troubled period just prior to the Russian-Austrian-Turkish War of 1787-1792. The young noble secretary had arrived in Iasi, having passed through Wallachia, in

February 1785, just at the time when, in Alba Iulia, Horea and Closca were executed. From the beginning, his travel diary records a special interest in the life and customs of the Romanians. Passing through Focsani he noted that there was no difference between the inhabitants on one side of the Milcov and those on the other: "The same vicissitude, the same misfortune, and the same history gave both the Muntenians and the Moldavians the most perfect physical and moral uniformity." In his description of Moldavia he pointed out that the Moldavians had the same origins as the Italians and no more Roman blood than the people who lived between the Danube, the Nistru and the Black Sea and who spoke, as the did in Italy, a language truly from Latin. "In Moldavia there are old men who call their land 'Wallachia,' and the Moldavians are as proud of their origins as the Italians."

Two years later, after he had come to know Moldavia better, in his "Memorandum Regarding Present and Past Conditions of Moldavia" presented to the new ruler Alexandru Ipsilanti (1786-1788), he developed the ideas expressed in his prior works. D'Hauterive noted the special importance of history as a means of preserving the virtues of the people and as a means of answering those who tried to slander the people, explaining better than anyone else up to that time the essence of the relationship of the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian lands and the maintenance of the autonomy of these lands. "Taking history into account from this point of view, Your Majesty, I said to myself, if I were one of the people who you are going to rule, I would write for Your Majesty the history of these people in order to raise them in the eyes of Your Majesty so that you can answer the slanderous statements that will try to bring you down, as well as when they would not be worthy or in a position to receive the benefits of a favorable government. I would have the courage to tell the world that of all the people who surround us and who boast of an ancient origin, we--continued d'Hauterive, associating with the Romanian people--are the ones who are preserving the customs and laws very much similar to those of our founders (the Romans--C.R.). I would say that in the general mixture of practices, which everywhere shows us the same blind obedience, the same impatience in submission and the same indifference to renovation that is exhibited in all the governments without the knowledge of the people, we are the only ones whose enslavement has remained undecided (in reference to the relationship with the Ottoman Empire--C.R.), and whose destruction is not completed; we are the only ones who have hope for a future, we are the only ones who, without being an additional part of a great empire (in reference to the autonomy of the Romanian lands from the Sultan's rule--C.R.), are still preserving, in an exchange of grace, our name and the institutions of our citizens; we are the only ones who have not lost the means to soften the power of those who dominate us; we are the only ones who know just how, through the unanimity of our cries of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, to decide about the integrity or about the strength of our rulers; and, finally, we are the only ones who are preserving the laws and the language of one of the first people of the world (Romans--C.R.), as titles of a relationship which proves to be the rarest of origins...."

During a time when the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II and Czarina Catherine II of Russia were seeking to extend their "protection" over the Romanian lands, d'Hauterive remarked, from the point of view of the Romanian interests: "Let's reject the hidden motives, which promise us imagined happiness in exchange for our passivity, as if one absolute ruler would be better than another absolute ruler," since, he noted upon another occasion, "the multitudes that came out of the north and those who came from the south were equally destructive for Moldavia."

To the Sultan the Moldavians were but "tributaries," but the land was not "totally submissive." In the year the Russian-Austrian-Turkish War broke out (1787), d'Hauterive broadly analyzed "the plan to subjugate the entire south to the rule of the north," rhetorically and ironically asking "if it is useful for a certain power to conquer Moldavia," with this power being the czarist empire.

#### The Living Tradition of Old Freedoms

In connection with the ancient history of the Romanian lands, the French philologist and diplomat stated that "the Dacians (also) lived in Moldavia and the old geography has saved for us the names of some of the rivers and towns of the Dacians." And Roman rule also extended over the territory of these people. Regarding the Romanian people in Moldavia, he wrote that "they are not like most of the people of our times, a mixture in which you can find traces of an unending multitude of nationalities, some of which are workers of the earth, others wanderers, wild, some civilized, some conquerers, others conquered. The Spanish and Italian languages are no more Latin in nature than the language of the Moldavians. One may also know in the Moldavian the superiority and happy nature of the Roman soldiers. And he who has seen the images of those soldiers who defeated the Dacians chiseled into the Column dedicated to the memory of Trajan's victories cannot but get some pleasure upon rediscovering in Moldavia the images of those soldiers' descendants." "The Moldavians have not lost any of this original nature, which revolts against any new oppressions. They are always ready to stand up against their rulers in judgment before the subprefect. They are not afraid to cross the entire country to go to the Divan, to give proof of the most brave. They speak with a power that is most penetrating and has all the simplicity of natural inspiration without lacking the style of art. I must admit that this living tradition of old freedoms is something I did not expect to find at all here, and I very much enjoyed being 400 leagues from Rome and 18 centuries away from Cicero."

On other pages d'Hauterive points out that "the Moldavians hold to the virtues of their ancestors" and that "they have preserved the descent of their people, and the most valuable vestiges, without a doubt, are those that you can still find in their handicraft customs, in their clothing, and in their countenance. But only in the (lower) stratum of the people must one look for these vestiges...." The Frenchman was also impressed

by other qualities of the Romanians: "No other people are so hospitable to guests. They are proper and obliging, and it is interesting to see them preserving among themselves a goodwill which is tied to their form of speech and which, as a result, will last forever. They have neither the 'illustrissme' of Italy nor the flowery constructions of the languages to the south, but it is enough to be a man because they call themselves 'Domnia-Ta'." "Good understanding and kindness are part of their nature" (of the peasants). As far as customs are concerned, "the Moldavians have precious qualities which, preserving and perpetuating the honor of years gone by, will protect their customs from decay for as long as they guard these ways."

Although d'Hauterive's "Memorandum" of 1781 regarding Moldavia remained in manuscript form until 1901-1902, I. Bianu pointed out in 1902 that through his scientific observations of the origins of the Romanian language, the author of "Memorandum" deserves "a place in the forefront among the forerunners of Romance philology." D'Hauterive was the first one to demonstrate that the Romanian language--being in Moldavia and referring to this principality, he called it the Moldavian language--is derived from the popular, spoken Latin, not from classical Latin, and that foreign influences did not alter the basic structure: "It is one of the last remnants of the stability of the Roman character. It has been enriched with words from all languages of the north and the south without changing a single one of its ancient words or its nature since the very beginning. It is fully the Roman language, but not Cicero's and not from the age of Augustus. It is much older. The Moldavian language (Romanian) is the language of Romulus' soldiers, who preserved the harshness of their customs and all the harshness of their behavior," outliving the classical Latins who, like the modern Romance languages, had their roots in the popular vernacular. "The Latin language (classical) in fact comes from this vernacular, but the other languages (Romance languages), and especially the Moldavian (Romanian), are themselves this very vernacular. They have preserved its nature and all they have done is, so to speak, to add other words to those of its own." Consequently, a century and one-half prior to the academician Al. Rosetti's statement<sup>1</sup> that he could see in the Romanian language the result of uninterrupted evolution of the Latin language spoken in the territory of Dacia, d'Hauterive bluntly stated that the Romanian language "as I can see it, is the popular language of the Romans." And, struggling against the opinion which existed in some of the writings of his era "that the Genoveses, during the time when their trade was prospering in this region, brought their language to Moldavia," d'Hauterive showed that the authors of those writings "imagined, perhaps, that languages can be loaned and borrowed from one people to another with such ease. It can be stated with much more accuracy that languages cannot be destroyed and at no time has a people ever lived longer than its language." Later, d'Hauterive, author of 62 political and commercial dissertations, was to write, in addition to the most significant diplomatic documents for Napoleon, more than 200 memoranda, but his "Memorandum" of 1787 on Moldavia remains, for us, a work of great interest which deserves to be better known.

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<sup>1</sup>See THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, No 9/1968 and No 10/1972

## ROMANIA

### CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN HEALTH FIELD SURVEYED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 76 pp 1, 2

[Article by Doctor Nicolae Nicolaescu, Minister of Health: "Serving the Health Needs of the People With High Professional and Ethical Responsibility"]

[Text] The pressing needs of the activities of the medical and health care personnel in light of the tasks established at the recent Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the directives of the secretary general of the party.

The constant care of our party and state for the protection of the health of the population is recognized and is an integral part of the general policy of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and of advancing Romania toward communism and of improving the welfare of the people. This truth is reflected with special note in the program of the Romanian Communist Party adopted by the 11th Party Congress, a fundamental document which guides all activities, present and future, for our people. In the field of health care the program outlines tasks of great significance regarding the development of activities for preventative medicine, raising of the level of awareness of the masses regarding health care, broadening and improvement of the network for medical assistance, improvement of life and work conditions for preserving and strengthening public health, and the study of the biological phenomena associated with adaptation of the human being to modern life. The attention given to the health protection of mothers and children and the improvement of conditions for rest, use of free time, physical exercise, and sports, as well as the other measures of a socioeconomic nature, are aimed at continuing improvement of the people's state of health.

Clear directives exist which guide all activities of the medical front, which has decided to work continuously to bring these tasks of honor to a successful conclusion in an exemplary manner. We are answering these tasks through work filled with sacrifice, dedicated to defending the health of the people and with help from the party and the guidance we enjoy from the party leadership and its secretary general. The firm decision to work directly to put these tasks and guidance into practice--

as so clearly expressed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the recent Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenary Session, and to raise the level of all work dedicated to medical protection of the population were the main topics at the recently concluded analysis within the framework of the session of the Higher Health Council. During this session there was an analysis of the progress in fulfilling the directives of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee from 1969 regarding improving medical assistance to the population and of the manner in which the tasks assigned to the sector of health protection were achieved with regard to improving the health indicators, combating and preventing diseases, developing medical scientific research, and consolidating the material base of health protection. As a result of the complex measures taken in the economic, social, cultural and medical spheres an improvement in the state of health has been recorded, as reflected in the positive evolution of certain indicators. Likewise it was determined that, overall, the structure and dynamics of the state of health of the population in Romania is approaching that attained in many of the developed nations of the world.

In the spirit of the increased needs in which the recent analysis was made, it was pointed out that although good results have been obtained, they are not, overall, in accord with the conditions created by the party and state or with the possibilities, number, and training of personnel. Not everywhere has there been ensured optimum use of the capabilities at our disposal, of health personnel, and, especially, of personnel with additional training. And, in using the results of scientific research, it has been shown that there is still much to be done to better utilize all the potential of our brain power in medical practices and to qualitatively improve medical care in dealing with the sick.

The participants at the session of the Higher Health Council spent considerable time discussing organization of the health service network and more efficient use of the strong material base and corp of personnel created during our years. The participants especially strove for a more judicious assignment of personnel to health care units as well as the assignment of cadres throughout the country. From this point of view there are still great differences between counties both in the number of hospital beds for the basic medical specialities and in the number of rooms in polyclinics for special care.

Following the continued increase in the efficiency of health-care units and the qualitative improvement of medical treatment, we are presently concerned with finding the best answer to the question: Under what conditions is it or is it not useful to maintain throughout the country certain small, dispersed health care units (for example, little-used maternity homes because, in neighboring towns, there are maternity facilities, or small surgical offices, staffed by a single doctor of that specialty and whose equipping with X-ray equipment and a laboratory would be irrational)? And, with regard to the organization of hospitals, more and more developed units are being featured, units capable of resolving all or most of the

problems of the sick, thus helping the sick avoid walking from one health unit to another. As a general observation worthy of attention, we can note the fact that in the developed units, well-equipped and staffed, the level of medical care is much higher and the cost of this care much lower.

The organization of certain medical care networks by specialty to resolve all health problems within each network, such as in the tuberculosis network, has not proven very efficient. To obtain the anticipated results, we must integrate these specialty networks into the general medical assistance program which will then facilitate the organization of certain more efficient activity to combat diseases and to broadly promote preventative measures. It is necessary for us to push the generalization of measures on integration of all forms of medical assistance into a single system and for us to firmly orient all personnel toward preventative medicine. In this sense we foresee a reorganization based on the criteria of broad accessibility to the health-care units by way of rationally locating these units as close to work and living areas as possible. The improvement of the system of medical assistance will thus be based upon the following principles:

The principle of territorial distribution; dividing the country into zones, with each zone equipped with a number of units and corp of personnel corresponding to the number of citizens in each zone, average characteristics, means of transportation, and so forth.

The principle of integrating medical services; integrating preventative, curative, and recuperative activities at all levels of health care--at dispensaries, polyclinics, and hospitals.

The principle of subordinating health-care units hierarchically; assigning and equipping health-care units in accordance with the size of the population serviced and the attributes of the units themselves.

The measures that must be taken to institute this improved system of medical care will be undertaken in steps corresponding to priorities dictated by the development of the network throughout the country and in accordance with the availability of materials and personnel.

After the application of these proposed measures we anticipate that medical care for the population will be achieved more simply and more efficiently through organization of a single national network. As we have said, this network will ensure that each citizen has access to the most qualified, specialized medical care in accordance with the real needs of each citizen's state of health.

In addition, two draft laws were submitted to the Higher Health Council for discussion--the law regarding health protection and the law concerning regulations for health personnel. These laws are designed to ensure the legal framework for establishing obligations incumbent upon the health



care organizations, the other ministries and central organs, the socialist units, and the population itself in the maintenance of health. The norms for training and promoting health care personnel are laid down in these laws as regulations, as well as the obligations that these personnel have in carrying out their professions. The Higher Health Council also discussed two aspects of great importance for public health--mental illness and tuberculosis--in view of improving the strategies for treating and combating these illnesses.

Another problem we are especially concerned about concerns the present situation of equipping health-care units with medical equipment and the exploitation, maintenance, and repair of this equipment. The program drawn up at the session comprises precise measures and directives for development of our own production of medical equipment.

At the same time, the Higher Health Council had upon its work agenda the draft unique plan for health education during the 1976-1980 period, which places special emphasis upon integrating health education in the general instructional-educational process presented to the young generation.

The continuing concern dedicated to the creation of the new man, who will work with dignity and self-sacrifice in the field of safeguarding the people's health, has its own motives. Among all the professions the field of medicine, by virtue of its excellence, is consecrated to the devoted service of mankind. From this point flows the work, act, and gesture filled with kindness of the man who stands at the sick person's bedside and of all those people who are dedicated to the noble profession of unconditionally doing everything that is necessary for man, for life, and for his health. And from this point there is also the increased need of a type that we could designate as much higher, which society requires from the personnel in the field of health. Those attitudes of neglect, of work lacking a sense of need and awareness of a high duty and manifestations of moral degradation, of fulfilling the obligations of service in a conditional manner, more directly called the manifestation of a commercial, mercantilist spirit--practices not only contradictory to medical deontology but also to the laws of the country--must be responded to more firmly. Only in this manner will we be able to say with a satisfied conscience that we are working enough to merit the full appreciation of society for our work. In an irreproachable activity, one of dignity, carried out from a level of high professional and social duty, there is the answer for all those people who have dedicated their lives and vocation to the service of the health needs of the people. In this great work, of education and creating the new man, we are convinced that a special contribution will be made by the party organizations, the trade unions, the Communist Youth Unions in the health network of our country, the colleges for doctors and pharmacists, and the work collectives in each health unit.

We have the grounds to believe that all those people who are working in the field of health in Romania will properly consider it a duty of honor

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to fulfill strictly and with responsibility all the initiated measures, of major importance regarding health care activities, and that they will spare no effort to prove, through their deeds, that they deserve the esteem and appreciation of the people and to prove that they know no higher goal than to serve the health needs of the people with devotion and passion.

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